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THE ROLE OF THE GREENS IN THE LOCAL POLITICS OF WEST GERMANY

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Doctor of Philosophy

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September 1990

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The University of Aston in Birmingham

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Summary

The study examines the contribution of the Greens to the changing nature of West Germany's local politics in the 1980s. The changes correspond broadly to the politicisation and parliamentarisation of a sphere of government traditionally perceived as being "unpolitical".

Building upon theories of the New Politics, it is suggested that the varying pace of socio-economic change across the Federal Republic underlies the nonuniform development of its local party systems. The party systems of localities which have witnessed rapid social and economic change are found to be more susceptible to the emergence of a New Politics dimension than those of communities in which change has occurred less rapidly.

The thesis continues by addressing aspects of the Greens' role in the development of local party systems across the Federal Republic. Despite the fact that marked differences in the Greens' approach to local political participation are registered in communities of varying socio-economic types, it is argued that the Greens are largely responsible for the introduction of a "New Local Politics" dimension into West Germany's local party systems.

In a comprehensive study of the Greens' role in the Mainz party system, the conflicting styles and practices of the Greens and the established political parties in the city are depicted. The failure of the Green Party to form an alliance with the SPD in the city council is attributed to the cleavage between the Greens' New Politics and the SPD's Old Politics approaches. A detailed analysis of the parliamentary initiatives introduced by the four parties represented in the Mainz council between 1984 and 1987 also supports the contention that a New Politics dimension exists in the city's party system. This dimension is identified as representing a significant source of conflict during the period of analysis.

Key words

Green Party; (die) Grünen; Germany (West) - local politics

To

Jane, Eleanor and John

### Acknowledgements

The patience, encouragement and constant support of my doctoral supervisor, Professor Eva Kolinsky, have contributed greatly to the completion of this thesis. From its inception to its conclusion, the work has benefited from Professor Kolinsky's considered advice and constructive criticisms. In addition to Professor Kolinsky's comments on draft sections of the thesis, I have learned much from the valuable advice of Professor Josef Esser (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt), Dr. Oscar Gabriel (Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) and Professor Richard Stöss (Freie Universität Berlin). I am especially indebted to Professor Stöss who introduced me to the mysteries of SPSS/PC.

This work could not have been accomplished without the willingness of innumerable Green local political activists throughout West Germany to answer my questions and provide relevant information. The Mainz Green Party deserves particular credit in this respect. Members of the *Fraktionsgruppe* granted access to all manner of documents, which representatives of other parties would doubtless wish to have kept confidential. Whilst it is most difficult to select individuals worthy of gratitude, my thanks are due in particular to the troika of business managers of the Mainz Green *Fraktion*: Alla Bohn, Roland Graßhoff and Barbara Schneider. The three endured my almost constant presence for the best part of 10 months between October 1987 and July 1988 with good humour. Similarly, I am grateful to Claus Scharf, whose knowledge of the local politics and history of Mainz always proved most edifying. I would also like to thank the many institutions which provided statistical data necessary for the

completion of the thesis.

The major part of the research programme on which this thesis is based was funded by an award from the Economic and Social Research Council, whilst a scholarship from the German Academic Exchange Service supported an extensive period of fieldwork. I am deeply indebted to both organisations.

Finally, I would like to register my thanks to Jane Scharf. Without her enduring patience and quiet encouragement this thesis would not have seen the light of day.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction: The Context of the Research

Since the emergence of the first ecological lists in West Germany in the second half of the 1970s, the country's Greens have acted as a constant focus for academic debate. Of Europe's numerous Green parties, the Greens in the Federal Republic have enjoyed the greatest amount of electoral success, gaining representation at all levels of the country's political system. Given the plethora of publications on the party, it might appear to onlookers that there are few areas of the Greens' activities which have yet to be addressed in detail by researchers. However, the scope of the existing research into the Greens has been rather limited in some significant respects. Whilst the Greens at the federal level have been very well researched and a number of comprehensive studies have been undertaken at the regional level, very little is known about their activities below this level. In examining their role in West Germany's local politics, this thesis will seek to bridge one of the most obvious and important gaps in the existing research on the Greens.

Following a brief discussion of the focus and nature of previous studies of the West German Greens, the contribution to be made by this particular study to the body of research on the Greens will be introduced. Two broad areas are discussed in the thesis. Firstly, the impact of the Greens upon established forms of local politics is to be addressed. It will be argued that the New Politics approach of the Greens at local level has contributed to a politicisation and parliamentarisation of a sphere of government traditionally regarded as "unpolitical". The extent to

which the resulting conflict can be attributed to a divide between the New Politics and the Old Politics is then assessed. Secondly, the effects of local political involvement upon the Greens themselves are analysed. It is suggested that weak organisational structures render the Greens incapable of resisting pressures which lead to their early integration into the "established" political system.

In the past, research on the Greens has tended to concentrate upon four main areas of analysis. These pertain to their origins, their electoral profile, their ideology and organisation and the conflicting strategies adopted by the Greens with regard to possible alliances with other political parties.

A large number of studies address themselves to the factors which underlie the rise of the Greens in the Federal Republic (e.g. Bürklin 1981; Bolaffi and Kallscheuer 1983; Murphy et al 1979; Weinberger 1984; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Mez 1987; Kolinsky 1981; Langguth 1983). Some of these studies seek to place the development of the West German Greens into the broader context of the emergence of ecological parties in other European countries (Müller-Rommel 1982 and 1985; Poguntke 1987a and 1987b; Pilat 1980; Inglehart 1983; Rüdig 1985a and 1985b). Galtung (1986) adds a more general socio-historical perspective to the debate, contending that the Greens represent:

(..) the last in a series of four transformations of the classical Western social formation, the first being the struggle of the state against the church, the second of the bourgeoisie to rule the state and the third, the working class to get access to the structure created by the preceding transformation (Galtung 1986:75).

These and other studies commonly seek to identify characteristics which make the German Greens the most successful of Europe's ecological parties (see also Mewes 1983; Chandler and Siaroff 1986; Frankland 1988). The most convincing reasons are to be found not only in the relative accessibility of West Germany's federalised political system, but in the confluence of a series of historical, social and political trends in post-war Germany.

The most fundamental differences of opinion between researchers with regard to the origins of the Greens arise over the impact of social-structural and value-change factors as a means of explaining party system change. The debate is significant in terms of the projected longevity of the Green Party (e.g. Müller-Rommel 1989 and Bürklin 1987). Alber (1985), for example, seeks to place the Greens firmly within the context of changes in West Germany's social structure. Others, following in the footsteps of Inglehart's (1971 and 1977) thesis of a silent revolution, tend to stress the importance of changing values as a means of explaining the development of support for the Greens. Although it has been demonstrated that the two approaches should not necessarily contradict one another (Chandler and Siaroff 1986), the debate still persists (e.g. Bürklin 1988). Indeed, the New Politics dimension (e.g. Baker et al 1981; Gabriel 1986; Bürklin 1984), which is to be adapted for the purposes of this research, essentially represents a compromise between the social structural and value change approaches. Clear signs of an electoral dealignment and partial realignment can be witnessed in the Federal Republic (Chandler and Siaroff 1986; Flanagan and Dalton 1984), with the respect to the rise of the Greens and more

recently of the Republicans. However, the extent to which this corresponds to the institutionalisation of a New Politics-Old Politics cleavage remains unclear.

A second important body of research into the Greens, closely related in a number of ways to the first, seeks to analyse the Greens' electoral profile. Depending upon which view is held of the origins of the Greens, differing interpretations can be made of the party's electoral support and the structure of its electorate (see Schultze 1980; Bürklin 1984; Kolinsky 1984:313f; Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1990; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986:1572f; Müller-Rommel 1989). In the initial stages of their development, it proved especially difficult to identify clearly the social characteristics of the Greens' support (Müller 1979; Rönsch 1980; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986). Some commentators grossly underestimated the potential support of the Greens (e.g. Rönsch 1980:426). The fact that the early ecological lists were of a highly heterogeneous nature and combined ideological traits from across the political spectrum rendered predictions of future success of the Greens in West Germany most difficult.

Whilst different means are still used to describe the Greens' core electorate, it has become increasingly evident that the party derives the major part of its vote from the young, well-educated, most commonly male, members of the new middle class who are concentrated in West Germany's towns and cities (e.g. Veen 1987; Kolinsky 1988; Bürklin 1987; Fogt and Uttitz 1984). The most convincing arguments suggest that the Greens benefit most from the existence of relatively stable social

milieux (Veen 1987 and 1989). This would suggest that the Greens will remain to be a decisive factor in West German politics for the foreseeable future (see Müller-Rommel 1989).

A common weakness of studies of the Greens' electoral profile lies in the failure to address adequately the influence of local factors upon the level of Green support. Social structural factors are widely recognised as occupying a major role in determining support for the Greens, but the relevance of this finding has rarely been developed further to portray the significance of varying social structures upon the scale of Green support below the regional level. The research needs to be taken one step further in order to show whether varying rates of social and economic change significantly affect the Greens' vote and whether this can be used as a means of explaining the nonuniform development of Green support throughout West Germany. A discussion of the development of the Greens at local level is one means by which this problem can be addressed.

The third established area of research on the West German Greens addresses aspects of their ideology and organisation. In a series of studies Fogt (1983, 1986 and 1987) has analysed the social and political background of key Green Party representatives at national and regional level. Studies about who represents the Greens are complemented by discussions of how they are represented. Research into the organisational development of the Greens has been particularly common in the wake of the election of the first Green Party representatives to the Federal Parliament in 1983 and to a series of regional parliaments

(Frankland 1988; Heidger 1987; Poguntke 1987; Ismayr 1985; Wischermann undated; Zeuner et al 1983; Zeuner 1985). A series of studies by Green activists and representatives has provided data of varying degrees of usefulness (Adamietz 1981; Hasenclever 1982; Cornelsen 1986; Jäger and Pinl 1985; also Stamer 1985). The drawback with such studies stems largely from the subjective interpretation and exaggeration of the Greens' role in parliaments of different types. The apparent failure of the grassroots organisational model at the national and regional levels has been more realistically discussed in a number of articles. Although largely anticipated (see Zeuner 1985; Brand 1982:192f), the shortcomings of the Greens' organisational structures have been brought to the fore in a range of studies by more conservative commentators (Fogt 1984; Minhoff 1985; Bierett 1987). Others have been rather more measured in their criticisms of the Greens' organisational practices, citing some of the positive elements pertaining to their internal structures (e.g. Frankland 1988).

The general analyses of Green Party organisational practices are supported by a small number of studies of specific aspects of their internal structures and ideology. On the one hand Kitschelt (1988 and 1989), for example, has added a new dimension to research knowledge, by comparing the internal party organisations of the West German and Belgian Green Parties. On the other, Scharping and Hoffmann-Göttig's (1982) analysis proved less useful in its attempt to address the contributions made by Greens to debate in 3 regional parliaments. The weaknesses of the techniques utilised by Scharping and Hoffmann-Göttig in order to

demonstrate the absence of anything "alternative" about the Greens' approach served to reduce the impact of their study (see Murphy 1983). Attempts to question the legality of the Greens' grassroots democratic structures in a modern democracy have been the focus of two studies by Stöss (1984a and 1984b).

A significantly smaller number of studies have sought to address various aspects of Green Party policy and the policy-making process. Some case study analyses have proved useful as a means of illustrating the means by which the Greens reach decisions (Gransow 1989; Kolinsky 1988 and 1989b). Others simply seek to publicise the policies held by the Greens (e.g. Beckenbach et al 1985; Beckenbach 1987; Wunder 1987). In this context, it is also necessary to mention the research which aims to depict the manner in which the established parties have attempted to address topics, once regarded as uniquely Green (Papadakis 1989; Schmitt et al 1981).

In the context of the analysis about to be undertaken, it is again important to note that, without exception, the studies in this third category of research on the Greens have concentrated upon the Greens at the federal and regional levels in West Germany.

This criticism can also be levelled at the final area of established research regarding the West German Greens. This concerns the so-called strategy debate within the party, which relates to their relationship with other political groups (e.g. Murphy 1986; Murphy and Roth 1987; Failer 1985; Falkenberg and



Kersting 1985). The Greens themselves have joined forces with a number of other political activists, primarily from the left-wing of the SPD, to publish in this particular area (e.g. Schmid 1986; contributions in Harrer 1986 and Jurtschitsch et al 1988; Kuhn 1987; Ebermann et al 1987; *Pantheon* 1987). The possible emergence of a red-green coalition at national level and the difficulties which could potentially result have been discussed in great detail (Mettke 1983; Bickerich 1985; Baier 1985; Egert 1985; Zeuner 1982; Dirks 1985). A number of commentators have analysed the outcome of previous successful and failed alliances between the Greens and the SPD. The first coalition between the Greens and SPD at regional level in Hesse, for example, has acted as a source of material for a range of studies (Geiger 1984/85; Meng 1987; Johnson 1988; Grupp 1986; Kern 1988; Kuhnert 1988; see also Beyer 1983 for Hamburg). In many respects, this final area of research will probably prove to be the most enduring. The recent trend towards the establishment of SPD-Green coalition governments at regional level in the Federal Republic (e.g. in Lower Saxony and Berlin) has accompanied a shifting balance of power within the Greens' in favour of its realist wing.

It is evident from this brief analysis of the major areas of research on the Greens, that the focus of commentators' attention has been firmly fixed to the federal and regional levels of the West German party system. In concentrating on the Greens at the highest levels of the party system, researchers have largely neglected the sphere in which the majority of Greens are actually active in politics and in which the profile of the party has changed most rapidly in its short lifetime.

At local level there are estimated to be around 6,000 Green local councillors (Roth 1988). The extent of Green local political involvement is much greater even than that implied by this figure, given the countless additional types of local political activity throughout West Germany in which the Greens participate. For a party with a stagnating membership of around 40,000, local political involvement will inevitably consume a significant proportion of the Greens' activists' time and resources. This fact alone would provide ample reason for conducting an analysis of the Greens' role at local level. The widely discussed "parliamentarisation" (*Verparlamentarisierung*) of the Greens (e.g. Frankland 1988) has evidently occurred less at the federal and regional levels than at the local level of the West German party system.

As will be demonstrated, there are a number of additional reasons for undertaking a study of the Greens in West Germany's local politics. This thesis will seek to build upon established research on the Greens, in order to broach an area of their activities which has yet to be studied in detail. It will be argued that the local politics of West Germany lends itself particularly well to a study of the Greens. Not only is this the level at which access to the political system can be gained most straightforwardly and at which the potential for Green-inspired conflict is greatest, but the local level is the one at which the Greens can preserve their heterogeneity.

In general, the Federal Republic's local level has been neglected

in the standard works of English-speaking political scientists (e.g. Smith 1986). At best, it warrants mention under the general heading of "federalism". Until recently, this criticism even applied to research undertaken within West Germany itself (see Schacht 1985). Only in the 1970s did political scientists begin to develop an active interest in local politics. Given that the Federal Constitution apparently accords local authorities expansive rights to address all policy areas of relevance to its citizens (Article 28.2), the absence of research on the local level in West Germany might at first appear rather surprising.

The main reason for the slow development of research interest in the local level of the West German party system is historical. Traditionally, the view has prevailed that this sphere of government is dominated by "unpolitical" and "consensual" practices. Local self-government in West Germany has been perceived in terms of the need for objective decision-making, which transcends party political debate. Only relatively recently, and in a limited number of West Germany's 8,500 localities (*Gemeinden*), has a gradual shift occurred towards the establishment of more parliamentary styles of debate.

The unpolitical nature of local politics in the Federal Republic presents an ideal arena for an analysis of the Greens' contribution towards local political change. As an openly political force, the Greens' ideology fails to differentiate substantially between administrative boundaries. Their motto is "think globally, act locally". The contention must be that this

will influence the development of local party systems in some way. In particular, as a party of the New Politics, addressing new issues and favouring unconventional styles of parliamentary activity, the question arises of the extent to which the Greens have been responsible for the introduction of a new, conflictual element into the local politics of the Federal Republic.

From this discussion it is evident that this thesis must seek to address two major fields. Firstly, it will be necessary to examine the impact of the Greens (and the New Politics) upon the local politics of West Germany. Secondly, it must aim to study the effect of local political participation upon the Greens themselves.

Having identified the major focuses for research, it is now necessary to look at the manner in which the analysis will proceed.

The thesis commences in Chapter 2 with a discussion of the broad theoretical framework within which it is located. An analysis of the principal components of party system change in the Federal Republic leads into an examination of various aspects of the process of socio-economic modernisation witnessed during the post-war period. Building upon the theories of the New Politics, it is suggested that variations in the rate of social and economic change across West Germany will influence the development of its party systems in different ways. The hypothesis is introduced that the party systems of those localities which have witnessed rapid socio-economic change will be more susceptible to the introduction of a New Politics

dimension than the party systems of localities in which change has occurred more gradually. Following an examination of the main features of West German local government, this hypothesis is then developed with regard to the dynamics of local party system change prior to the emergence of the first Green electoral lists in the late 1970s. The chapter concludes by contrasting the most significant features of the emergent "New Local Politics" and those of the established "Old Local Politics".

The Greens are introduced into the debate in Chapter 3. The relevance of the local level to the Greens forms the basis of a brief analysis of their electoral origins. This leads into an examination of the extent of Green local representation and of the nature of the Greens' local electorate. The remainder of the chapter draws information from a range of sources in order to develop a series of hypotheses pertaining to Green local politics. Firstly, it is suggested that Green local politics is ideologically driven and that it represents the extension of the New Politics agenda to the local level. Secondly, the thesis is raised that Green local politics is largely responsible for the the disappearing consensus at local level and that the emerging conflict cuts across established party divisions along an Old-New Local Politics dimension. Thirdly, it is argued that the Greens' adoption of unconventional parliamentary styles at local level run counter to established practices in West German local politics. It is contended that this results in a politicisation of all aspects of local council activity, including those areas previously regarded as being above party political debate. An

examination of the organisational structures of local Green groups throughout the Federal Republic provides the basis for an analysis of the Greens' New Politics organisational structures. Partially as a result of this analysis, a fourth hypothesis is developed in which it is argued that the Greens are unable to resist the pressures which lead to their integration into established forms of local decision-making. In effect, it is hypothesised that participation in West German local politics leads to an inevitable institutionalisation of the Greens, which in turn influences the strategic debate within the entire Green Party organisation.

In order to address the four central hypotheses developed in Chapter 3, a case study method of analysis is adopted. In Chapter 4, the criteria for the selection of an appropriate case study community are outlined. In choosing to analyse the impact of the Greens on the party system of Mainz, account is taken primarily of the city's function as a service sector centre, of its established local party system and of the degree of accessibility of relevant source materials.

Chapter 5 begins with an analysis of the 1984 local election result in Mainz, which led to the Greens' initial entry into the city's local council. This forms the basis for a study of the development of Mainz' local party system for the subsequent three-year period (1984-1987). In particular, events surrounding the failure of the city's SPD and Green council groups to agree upon a joint programme are addressed in terms of their relevance to the New-Old Local Politics debate. It will be suggested that

the conflicting approaches of the majority factions in each party made the establishment of a red-green consensus impossible in Mainz.

Finally, in two complementary chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), the changing agenda of Mainz' local politics is addressed. The basis for the analysis lies in an examination of the parliamentary initiatives (council motions) introduced by the four parties represented on the city council during a period of three years. Differences in approach between the respective parties are analysed in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The purpose of these two chapters is to identify both the degree to which Mainz was characterised by a New Politics-Old Politics divide during the course of the analysis and the extent to which the Greens were responsible for introducing initiatives which resulted in conflict.

In the concluding chapter, the various elements of the research are brought together. An attempt is then made to determine the degree of importance to be accorded to the role played by the Greens in the changing nature and style of West Germany's local politics. The extent to which the changes brought about by the Greens amount to the emergence of a New Local Politics dimension at local level is then discussed. The influence of widespread participation in local politics upon the Greens is also examined. Inevitably, it is suggested that the completion of further, detailed case study analyses in other communities in the Federal Republic is necessary in order to corroborate the outcomes put forward by this thesis.

Before beginning the formal discussion, a brief comment is required with regard to the method of referencing adopted in this thesis. For the sake of simplicity, the references have been divided into three distinct sections. The first section mainly contains references to cited academic works (e.g. Alber 1985). The second section encompasses works which are predominantly of a statistical nature. These are most commonly referred to in terms of a citation of the region or locality to which they pertain (e.g. Frankfurt 1989). The third section of references covers all other non-academic and non-statistical sources referred to in the text. On the whole these comprise publications which have emerged from within the Green and Alternative spectrum of the Federal Republic. In order to clearly distinguish such materials from the statistical sources included in the second section, they are alluded to by means of an italicisation (e.g. *Geseke* 1987).



## Chapter 2

### West German local politics: Persistence and change

In this chapter the framework is to be established for an examination of the role of the Greens in West Germany's local politics. This requires an exposition of the fundamental changes which have been affecting local party systems in the Federal Republic since the late 1960s. The most significant developments to be addressed concern the dual processes of politicisation and parliamentarisation which increasingly mark the activities of local councils and bureaucracies operating in a sphere of German society traditionally perceived as being "unpolitical". The thesis to be developed is that the changing nature of local politics in West Germany is essentially a reflection of developments affecting the country's party system as a whole. In practice local party systems do not remain immune from the more general pressures under which regional and national party systems operate. Indeed, the rise of the Greens at local level preceded their emergence at the national and regional levels, indicating that changes in the party systems of the Federal Republic can first manifest themselves locally.

Particular emphasis will be placed in this chapter upon the "New Politics" approach. It will be suggested that this approach not only contributes towards a better understanding of the sources of change in West German local politics, but also provides a suitable interpretation for the emergence of the Greens. It will be argued that the process of socio-economic modernisation, which has characterised the development of the Federal Republic during the post-war period, has undermined the relevance of traditional

cleavages in the country's party systems. In place of social structural factors, voting behaviour in West Germany is increasingly determined by individual level value orientations. The emergence of a New Politics dimension in the West German party system should be placed within this context (Section 2.1).

New Politics theory spans the three broad areas of ideology, party electorates and party organisation (Poguntke 1989; Müller-Rommel 1989). Firstly, the New Politics agenda is characterised by issues relating to the "quality of life" (e.g. environmental protection; social equality; civil liberties) and by its emphasis upon the development of public participation in the decision-making process (Baker et al 1981; Bürklin 1984; Poguntke 1989). Secondly, with regard to adherents of the New Politics, the long-term significance of the new values emanates from the fact that supporters are most widely found within the new middle class, itself a product of the modernisation process. Thirdly, the New Politics influences the type of party structure adopted, with stress being laid upon non-hierarchical decision-making processes and informality (Poguntke 1987c and 1989). The inability of the established political parties to respond adequately to the features of the New Politics was a prime causal factor underlying the emergence of the New Social Movements and the Greens in the 1970s.

Given the fact that the pace of social and economic change has been rather uneven across the Federal Republic, it is to be anticipated that the relevance of the New Politics dimension will vary across the country's local party systems. In Section 2.2.

the impact of the New Politics agenda on West Germany's local party systems prior to the rise of the Greens will be examined. Following a description of the country's local political structures, an evaluation of the relevance of the New Politics at local level will be made. Attention will then be focused upon the manner in which established local political elites responded to the New Politics before the development of the Greens.

It will be suggested that something resembling a "New Local Politics" could be discerned in the mid-1970s. This resulted from a more ideological treatment of local politics and contrasted markedly with the unpolitical and administrative tradition which has characterised West German local politics for much of the post-war period.

### **2.1. Socio-economic Change and the New Politics**

The changing nature of West German local politics during the 1970s and 1980s must be viewed against the broad background of developments which have influenced the operation of party systems at the federal and regional levels. A cyclical pattern characterises the process of party system change in West Germany. Müller-Rommel (1989) has suggested that major trends in electoral change are initially identifiable at regional level, progressing to the national level at a later stage. This argument is perhaps too simplistic. Changes affect the three levels of the West German party system at different times and to varying degrees. The main developments registered at the national and regional levels are often mirrored by changes within the Federal Republic's local party systems. Similarly, local party systems

can act as forerunners of developments occurring at higher system levels, in the sense that national trends simply represent an aggregation of local developments. Thus, the changing social structures and political values which are held to undermine the stability of West German party systems at a national and regional level can be expected to exert an impact upon party systems at local level. Local party systems will develop in different ways according to the extent of social change in the relevant locality. Of relevance in this context is the degree of support lent by several commentators to the notion that voting behaviour in local elections is determined essentially by the same factors which apply in elections to regional and federal parliaments (e.g. Kevenhörster 1983; Hermann and Werle 1983). For example, Kevenhörster suggests that West German voters tend to support the same political party in elections at all system levels. Where differences occur between the political parties' share of the vote in elections at the different system levels, these are attributed to fluctuations in electoral turnout and to the varying ability of parties to mobilise supporters (Kevenhörster 1983:172).

Whilst concentrating initially upon developments affecting voting behaviour at the national level, it will be possible to draw parallels with more localised developments. In this respect, a research problem must be confronted. A wealth of statistical information exists, which can be used to explain fluctuations in voting behaviour in Federal and Regional elections in West Germany, but information of direct relevance to local political

change is rather limited (see Schacht 1985). Not all localities provide electoral and social structural data in a form which can be utilised by researchers. There is, therefore, an unavoidable tendency to concentrate attention upon political change in a number of urban areas in which relevant data are gathered. An assessment of the prevalence of New Politics orientations across West Germany's local communities is not easily made. In order to judge accurately the nature of individual level value orientations, which form the basis of the New Politics approach, detailed survey data are required. Only a few localities are in a position to conduct such extensive surveys. Even where value orientations have been assessed at local level, the adoption of varying methodological approaches reduces the comparable element of the studies (1). For this reason, it will be assumed in this study that New Politics value orientations will prevail where the social structural conditions which underlie their existence are present. Conversely, where the relevant social structures are absent, it can be assumed that New Politics orientations are not widely held.

Before proceeding with the analysis of local political change, it is first necessary to identify the main elements of political change witnessed at the national and regional levels of the West German party system since the late 1960s.

#### 2.1.1. Stability and Change in West German Party Systems

The dual processes of socio-economic and value change which have characterised the recent development of the West German party system have given rise to conflicting interpretations of the

system's stability. In examining fluctuations in voting behaviour in West Germany since the early 1970s, it is necessary to enter into the debate which focuses upon the degree of persistence and change in the politics of the Federal Republic. Some commentators choose to stress the continuing significance of traditional social cleavages and point towards the fundamental stability of the country's party system (e.g. Pappi and Terwey 1982; Pappi 1984; also Klingemann 1985). Indeed, Schmitt refers to the "almost perfect stability" of the West German party system (Schmitt 1989:130). Other researchers draw attention to the forces of change, particularly to the emergence of new cross-cutting social cleavages (e.g. Baker et al 1981; also Alber 1985; Bürklin 1981 and 1984). The debate is relevant to this study since according to the approach and underlying concepts adopted, differing interpretations can be made of the factors which give rise to such new political parties as the Greens and which affect the political future of such parties.

Writing in the 1960s Lipset and Rokkan suggested that the post-war party systems of the Western democracies were essentially founded upon the same underlying social cleavages present at their inception in the 1920s (Lipset and Rokkan 1967:54). If social cleavages are defined as enduring coalitions between population groups and political parties (Stinchcombe 1975), then the two principal cleavages underlying West Germany's "stable" post-war party systems are based upon social class and religious affiliation (Klingemann 1985:244; Berger et al 1987:263). The structural alliances of the blue-collar workers and trade unionists with the SPD and of the old middle class and

Table 2.1

## Voting Intention of Selected Social Groupings

	CDU/CSU							SPD						
	'53	'65	'69	'72	'76	'80	'83	'53	'65	'69	'72	'76	'80	'83
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Old middle class Catholics	44	70	61	49	75	57	61	10	7	16	24	11	24	21
Old middle class Protestants	25	45	40	42	45	31	60	13	13	17	32	19	35	17
Religious Catholics/new middle class/non-union members	63	75	62	62	65	70	31	9	12	13	16	7	12	7
Religious Catholics/working class/non-union members	45	65	62	55	67	63	64	14	16	22	32	13	16	24
Religious Catholics/new middle class and working class/union members	40	69	71	55	58	46	55	30	17	21	26	33	42	21
Protestants/working class/non-union members	15	29	23	15	20	20	26	38	50	53	66	52	48	60
Protestants/new middle class and working class/union members	12	15	12	13	16	16	20	60	72	31	73	60	65	71
Secularised Catholics/new middle class and working class/union members	18	18	27	21	29	30	45	65	61	57	69	53	52	41
Protestants/new middle class/non-union members	31	41	24	26	36	27	40	21	33	40	52	34	44	35
Secularised Catholics/new middle class/non-union members	42	34	37	31	46	33	53	19	29	35	41	29	34	26
Secularised Catholics/working class/non-union members	21	36	34	29	43	22	48	33	51	49	49	35	55	37

Source: Klingemann 1985:248, Table 9.7

religious sections of the population, especially the Catholics, with the CDU/CSU can still be regarded as the most enduring and stable features of the current West German party system (Pappi 1984). Even the most recent studies of Federal Election voting behaviour tend to indicate the continuing strength of these cleavages (e.g. Pappi 1984; Klingemann 1985; Schultze 1987; Berger et al 1987; Bürklin and Kaltefleiter 1987). Table 2.1 illustrates the share of electoral support for the CDU/CSU and SPD amongst selected social groups, measured on the basis of voting intention prior to each of the Federal Elections held

between 1953 and 1983. The dominance of the CDU/CSU among the Catholic and Protestant old middle class (self-employed; farmers) and those groups involving religious Catholics is matched for each election by the SPD's superior position in the Protestant, unionised new middle class (*Angestellte* and *Beamte*) and the Protestant, non-unionised working class (Klingemann 1985:246f; see also Veen and Gluchowski 1983 and 1988).

At the regional and local levels, despite the greater role accorded to the element of personality, it is evident that the same structural cleavages have largely determined the composition and stability of the respective party systems. The CDU and CSU have traditionally performed well in areas in which the Catholic population has been in the majority (e.g. Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, the Rhineland) and in the more rural areas with high proportions of the old middle class (Schultze 1989:13). The SPD has tended to perform best in urban areas with large proportions of blue-collar workers (e.g. the Ruhr, Hamburg, Bremen).

Although Pappi (1984) is correct to suggest that the traditional social cleavages of class and religion still exert a significant influence upon the West German party system, the party systems of the 1980s are much less stable than those of the formative years of the Federal Republic. In concentrating upon the stability of traditional coalitions between population groups and political parties, Pappi fails to take full account of the impact of socio-economic change upon the country's party systems.

The stability of West Germany's party systems relies to a great



extent upon the maintenance of a balance between the respective population groups and upon the ability of the established political parties to attract the support of newly emerging social groups. Changes in the social structure of the Federal Republic have reduced the size and importance of the very social groups on which the stability of the country's party systems depend (Veen and Gluchowski 1988). The process of socio-economic modernisation has created new population groups which are no longer bound by traditional structural ties to particular political parties. The non-aligned social groups base voting decisions more upon individual level value orientations than upon group specific characteristics such as social class or religion. In this respect, the role of the new middle class as the bearers of the New Politics values is of particular relevance, given that they represent a "continuing source of electoral volatility" in West Germany (Conradt and Dalton 1988:26).

#### 2.1.2. The New Politics

The developing public interest in a series of new political issues has been a significant element of political change in the Federal Republic since the late 1960s. The development of a cluster of new issues, termed the New Politics, is not a feature confined to West Germany alone, but has been identified in a number of other Western Democracies (see Müller-Rommel 1982; Poguntke 1987a and 1987b; Inglehart 1983; also Müller-Rommel and Wilke 1981). The new agenda is founded upon the changing basic value orientations of certain population groups, which correspond in general to a movement away from materialistic towards so-called postmaterialistic goals (Inglehart 1977; Baker et al

1981). Although traditional materialistic issues linked to the maintenance of economic growth (e.g. control of inflation, provision of adequate pensions) and national security continued to be of overriding importance throughout the 1970s (and into the 1980s) (Gibowski and Kaase 1986), the non-material aspirations of sections of the West German electorate have increasingly been represented by new concerns. The New Politics is based in general upon "the quality of life" sphere, incorporating two broad categories of issue. Firstly, a growing awareness of the negative effects of industrial production led to expressions of support for measures to protect the environment and to demands to further reduce social inequality. Secondly, there were calls for improved participatory rights, characterised by the increasing emphasis placed upon such issues as the freedom of expression (Hildebrandt and Dalton 1977; Baker et al 1981; Dalton 1981; also Chandler and Siaroff 1986).

The New Politics theory stems essentially from two broad lines of thought, each of which has in turn been utilised as a means of explaining the growth of Green parties throughout Europe (Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1989:20).

The first school, based initially upon the work of Inglehart (1971, 1977 and 1981) and extended by Barnes and Kaase et al (1979), emphasises the significance of changing political values at an individual level as reflected in the rise of a new postmaterialist generation. According to these authors, individuals socialised in periods of economic and political stability, such as occurred in the Federal Republic during the

late 1950s and 1960s, tend to hold political values which accord traditional (materialist) economic and security goals less significance than the (postmaterialist) values associated with freedom of expression and increased opportunities to participate in the democratic process (Inglehart 1977). These postmaterialistic values are most widespread amongst West Germany's younger generations socialised during the period of economic expansion, especially those with high levels of education and a social background in the new middle classes. As has been pointed out by Rüdig and Lowe (1986), the narrow schema adopted by Inglehart to identify postmaterialist value orientations has been extended by other researchers to explain the emergence of a wide range of new issues in Western Democracies, including the subject of environmentalism (e.g. Cotgrove and Duff 1981).

A similar approach is adopted by Bürklin (1984), although in this case greater emphasis is laid upon individual life cycle rather than early-life socialisation effects (see Dalton 1981). With regard to the expression of political support for the Greens, however, Bürklin suggests that the blocked professional aspirations of highly educated younger generations was the principal underlying factor. During the recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s the established political parties were unable to integrate the younger age cohorts most acutely affected by the economic downturn. Thus, according to this approach the established parties should be able to recapture the Green vote in times of economic prosperity (Bürklin 1981). However, Inglehart

(1983) suggests otherwise and cites the growing proportion of postmaterialists in the West German electorate during periods of recession as proof of the long-term relevance of the new values.

The second line of thought used to explain the emergence of the New Politics agenda lays particular emphasis upon the changing social structures of contemporary West Germany (Dalton 1984; Alber 1985). The process of socio-economic modernisation, characterised by the growth of the tertiary sector and a subsequent decline in the relative size of traditional occupational groups, especially manual workers and farmers, and by increased access to higher education has given rise to the establishment of new social groups. The new middle class is the most influential group to emerge from the modernisation process. Alber (1985) suggests that members of the new middle class are rather more susceptible to the negative effects of unlimited economic growth than members of those social groups intimately linked to the production process. This constitutes a possible cause of a new cleavage in the West German party system, with occupational groups linked to the production process (blue-collar workers, the old middle class) competing with those groups alienated from it (the new middle class). The absence of a formal connection with the production process underlies the over-representation of the new middle class amongst adherents of the postmaterialistic, quality of life issues associated with the New Politics (Alber 1985:215).

As Chandler and Siaroff have pointed out, however, the two schools of thought do not necessarily contradict one another:

(..) changes in social structure increase the probability of new and shifting alignments because new social classes produce their own distinctive set of values, preferences, and interests. As the "new middle" classes (..) emerge politically, they are less bound by bread and butter, materialist orientations or by the traditional values of prior political generations (Chandler and Siaroff 1986:304).

The principal difference between the socialisation and social structural approaches lies in the means by which New Politics issues have come to the fore. Whereas the socialisation approach emphasises the importance of individual level changes, the social structural approach stresses the role played by aggregated social changes.

The fact that the two approaches complement one another lends support to the assumption that New Politics orientations will exist in localities in which the necessary social structural conditions prevail. The analysis of varying rates of social change in a number of cities, will provide a possible explanation for variations in the spread of the New Politics across West Germany.

### 2.1.3. Socio-economic modernisation

The concentration of New Politics ideals within the non-aligned sections of the new middle classes and the level of support for the Greens amongst these social groups requires a brief analysis of the key features of the modernisation process. It will be suggested that variations in the progress of modernisation across the communities of the Federal Republic offer a means of explaining the irregular spread of the New Politics agenda at local level. Such variations also account for the diverging levels of Green party support across West Germany's local

communities.

The process of socio-economic modernisation, common to most Western democracies, has a number of key features (Gabriel 1983b:74f). In the economic sphere, modernisation entails the movement away from the predominance of primary or production-based industries towards the service industries. Whilst the traditional agricultural and heavy industries are in decline, consumer-based production and the tertiary sector have grown in importance (Alber 1985:215). The development of new industries also affects the composition of the work force. Amongst the principal requirements of a service-based economy is the existence of a suitably qualified and mobile work force. In this respect, wider access to higher education institutions, general improvements in the education levels and a greater degree of social and geographical mobility are also features to be associated with the modernisation process. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the shift towards a service sector economy has further increased the level of urbanisation of the population, a feature underlying the disintegration of traditional social networks, and the corresponding decline in the relevance of such institutions as the Church and trade unions.

Each aspect of the modernisation process can independently influence the composition and stability of a party system. Thus, the movement towards a service-based economy corresponds to a decline in the proportion of blue-collar workers and of the old middle class in the electorate. The former will tend to reduce the level of support for the SPD, whilst the latter affects the

CDU/CSU and FDP vote. The declining role of the Church, stemming from the secularisation process, particularly affects the level of popular support for the CDU/CSU. Evidence suggests, however, that the effect of modernisation has not been balanced across the established *Volksparteien*. Whilst the CDU/CSU has succeeded in winning over new voters, the SPD has been unable to adapt (Feist and Krieger 1987:47). The growing relevance of the new middle class has assumed great significance in the studies of West German voting behaviour. It is argued that the development of new, non-aligned social groups introduces an element of uncertainty into the party system (Pappi 1973). It must be recognised, however, that the individual elements of the modernisation process are not unrelated to one another. Meulemann (1985), for example, cites a connection between rising education levels and secularisation. When aggregated, there can be little doubt that the social and economic changes significantly affect the relationship between political parties and voters. In this study, emphasis is placed upon the fact that local party systems will be influenced in different ways by the modernisation process, depending upon the prevailing social and economic structures in the relevant locality.

In the context of this analysis, three major aspects of the modernisation process will be addressed. These are the areas of economic change (tertiarisation), secularisation and rising education levels. The first two factors were selected because of the overriding significance of social class and religion for the West German party systems. The selection of education arises from

its relevance to the development of New Politics orientations and to the expression of support for the Greens (e.g. Fogt and Uttitz 1984; Veen 1987; Müller-Rommel 1989).

The extent of social and economic change experienced in the Federal Republic during the post-war period is to be illustrated with the assistance of statistical information published at two levels of the federal system. At national level, information is derived from publications of the Federal Statistical Office (Datenreport 1987). Local level information has been gathered from publications of the various city statistical offices (2).

#### 2.1.3.1. Economic Change

A principal method employed to indicate the progression of the Federal Republic from a production-based towards a service-based economy is to examine the proportions of the work force employed in the three sectors of the country's economy (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2

Employees by economic sectors 1950-1986

Sector	Employees (in %)				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1986
Agricultural	24.6	13.7	8.5	5.5	5.2
Manufacturing	42.9	47.9	48.9	44.1	40.9
Services	32.5	38.4	42.5	50.4	53.9

Source: Datenreport 1987:231, Table 2

The most dramatic decline has been witnessed in the agricultural sector. As a result of mechanisation and rising productivity levels, the share of the work force engaged in the primary sector



has fallen progressively from a level of 24.6% in 1950 to only 5.2% in 1986. The proportion of the work force engaged in the secondary sector is also in decline. In the immediate post-war period, West Germany's economic growth was based upon the rapid expansion of industrial production. Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of the work force employed in the production sector increased from 42.6% to 47.9%. During the 1960s this sector's share of the working population began to stagnate and since 1970 has fallen from a level of 48.9% to just 41% in 1986. During the same period the tertiary sector has experienced a rapid growth in its share of the work force. In 1950 less than one third of the work force operated in the service sector of the West German economy (32.5%). In 1986 this figure had increased to over half (53.9%) (Datenreport 1987:231).

In certain West German localities, predominantly the large urban areas of the South (Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Nuremberg), the movement towards a service-based economy has been even more rapid than that indicated by the aggregate data for the whole of the country. In Frankfurt, for example, the proportion of the work force employed in the tertiary sector in 1987 was 69.3%, representing an increase of 16.3% over the 1970 figure (59.6%). During the same period the proportion of the city's work force engaged in the secondary sector declined by 24.4%, accounting for just 30.1% in 1987. In Frankfurt the agricultural sector plays no significant role, accounting for only 0.6% of the work force in both 1970 and 1987 (Frankfurt 1989:44). Even within the city boundaries of Frankfurt, however, notable variations exist in the

composition of the work force. A number of districts have profited from the city's progression towards a service sector centre (*Dienstleistungszentrum*) with a marked emphasis upon the growth areas of finance and commerce. Other Frankfurt districts remain economically dependent upon the production sector. In the Höchst and Griesheim suburbs to the West of the city centre, for example, respectively 72.8% and 60.4% of employees were still engaged in the secondary sector in 1987. By contrast, a number of districts had over 90% of their work force engaged in the tertiary sector (most notably in the central areas of Frankfurt and in the airport district) (Frankfurt 1989:45).

Frankfurt is indicative of the growing dominance of the service sector in West Germany's urban areas. In other West German cities similar trends are noticeable. 53% of Cologne's work force was employed in the service sector in 1970, but by 1986 the proportion had increased to 64% (Cologne 1987:125, Table 502). Even in such cities as Duisburg, in which the traditional industries of coal and steel production continue to play an important role, there has still been a long-term growth in the relevance of the tertiary sector. Between 1970 and 1985 the share of the Duisburg work force employed in this sector rose by 11%, from 41% to 52% (Duisburg 1988:26, Table P.2). In Bensch's (1985) comparative study of the employment situation in 12 West German cities between 1978 and 1983, all cities witnessed varying levels of decline in the numbers engaged in the production sector. Whilst a general growth was registered in the service sector, in certain cities this applied more to the proportion of the work force engaged than to the absolute numbers employed. In the Ruhr

city of Bochum, for example, there was a fall of nearly 10% in the absolute number of employees engaged in the tertiary sector between 1978 and 1983 (Bensch 1985:24). The 1987 Census showed that the 11 largest cities of the Federal Republic (each with populations of over 500 000) had widely varying shares of the work force engaged in the tertiary sector. The lowest proportion was found in Duisburg (56.8%), the highest in Hamburg (78.4%) (Frankfurt 1989:45).

Thus, despite the general trend towards an expansion of the service sector in West Germany's cities, the movement has been rather more pronounced in some localities. Also, as the Frankfurt example has demonstrated, there can be significant variations in the composition of the work force within the boundaries of individual cities. These factors serve not only to influence the composition of local party systems in the Federal Republic, but also to provide an explanation of divergences in the spread of the New Politics at local level.

The movement of the West German economy from a production towards a service base underlies the development of the social groups identified as the source of electoral volatility. Changes in the country's economic structure are inevitably reflected in the occupational structure of the West German population (Table 2.3). Occupational structure lies at the heart of any analysis of the social class cleavage upon which the stability of the West German party system depends. Whereas blue-collar workers (*Arbeiter*) comprised over half of the working population in the 1950s and

Table 2.3

## Occupational structure of West Germany (1950-1986)

	1950	1961	1970	1980	1986
Self-employed	29.2	19.5	17.6	12.0	11.8
Beamte	4.0	7.0	5.5	8.4	8.9
Angestellte	16.0	22.4	29.6	37.2	39.6
Blue-collar workers	50.8	51.0	47.4	42.3	39.8

## Sources:

Figures 1950-1980: Gabriel 1983b:79, Table 1-3b

Figures 1986: Datenreport 1987:87, Table 5 (%ages by author)

1960s, in 1986 they represented less than 40%. The declining strength of the old middle class (self-employed and farmers) has been even more dramatic. Between 1950 and 1986 this occupational group has decreased as a proportion of the working population by almost 60%, falling from a level of 29.2% to 11.8%. The decline of both the traditional working class and the old middle class has corresponded to a large rise in the proportion of people engaged in the white-collar occupations associated with a service-based economy (*Angestellte* and *Beamte*). The occupational groups which comprise the new middle class currently account for the largest proportion of West Germany's working population. In 1950 only one fifth of West Germans were employed in such professions. By 1986 the figure had reached almost one half (48.5%) (Datenreport 1987:87; Gabriel 1983b:79).

Again, it must be pointed out that in a number of West Germany's cities the rise of the new middle classes has been more rapid than the aggregate figures suggest. In the case of Frankfurt, for example, over 59% of the work force were judged to belong to the

new middle class on the basis of the results of the 1987 census. In 1970 the comparable figure was 55%. Over the same period the proportion of blue-collar workers employed in the city declined from 36% to 32% of the work force (Frankfurt 1989:97).

The growth of the new middle class, with its ambivalent position in the social structure, having attributes of both the old middle class and the working class (Baker et al 1981:172), and its absence of "voting norms which have grown out of historical experience" (Klingemann 1985:249) is a prime factor underlying electoral volatility in West Germany. It is amongst this social group that the postmaterialist views associated with the New Politics are most widely held.

#### 2.1.3.2. Changes in Education Levels

The second element of the modernisation process to be addressed is that of rising education levels. In order to cope with the special requirements of the service sector economy, West Germany has witnessed a general improvement in education levels. This aspect of the modernisation process exerts a significant impact upon individual level political values and is also a feature of importance with regard to the rise of the Greens. Not only does a greater proportion of the West German population leave the education system with some form of qualification than was formerly the case, but there has been a dramatic increase in the proportion of the population receiving university level education. As a quantitative guide to the measurement of education levels Gabriel (1983b) makes use of the ratio of students to pupils attending ordinary state schools

(*Volksschüler*). Whilst there was only one student for every 21 *Volksschüler* in 1960, by 1980 the ratio had fallen to almost 1:5 (Gabriel 1983b:75). By 1985, reflecting the falling birth rates of the 1970s and the movement of the baby-boom generation through the university system, the ratio of students to *Volksschüler* had dropped even further to a level of about 1:3 (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4

Pupils attending state schools and students (1960-1985)  
(in thousands)

Pupils at:	1960	1970	1980	1986
Ordinary Schools	5219	6347	5045	3828
Middle Schools	431	863	1351	1049
Gymnasien	853	1379	2119	1750
Students	247	422	1036	1336

Source: Datenreport 1987:58, Table 1 and p66, Table 8

Inevitably, the levels of education vary considerably across the Federal Republic, depending largely upon the specific nature of the local economy and the proximity of higher education institutions. Whereas in Duisburg in 1984, for example, there were only 18.8 students for every 1000 inhabitants, the respective figure for Bonn was 132.4, for Münster 190.7 and for Aachen 175.5 (Ausschuß Wahlforschung 1985:25, Table 15). The service sector centres evidently require a more highly qualified work force than those in which industrial production continues to play a major role. In university towns education levels will inevitably be higher than in other, particularly more rural areas.

Table 2.5

University level education by age groups (1985)  
 (% of respective age groups)

Age group	Fachhoch- Hochschulreife
15-19	4.5
20-29	24.3
30-39	18.0
40-49	10.7
50-59	7.6
60 and above	5.8
All age groups	12.1

Source: Datenreport 1987:72, Table 14

The benefits of improved access to higher education in the Federal Republic are most apparent in the younger post-war generations (Table 2.5). Of the 20-29 age group, some 24.3% had received a university level education in 1985. Through successive older age groups the corresponding proportion falls.

#### 2.1.3.3. Secularisation

The third and final aspect of the socio-economic modernisation process to be addressed, regards the growing secularisation of the West German population. This process has two features. Firstly, a growing proportion of the population belongs to no religious faith. Secondly, and more importantly, the links between Church members and their churches have become less pronounced. Both the Catholic and Protestant Churches have suffered the effects of declining congregations over the course of recent decades. Whereas the overall number of Catholics living in the Federal Republic has remained stable since 1960, there

Table 2.6

## Church attendance by Catholics (1960-1985)

Year	Catholics 1 000s	Church attenders in %
1960	24 710	11 895 48.1
1970	27 192	10 159 37.4
1980	26 720	7 769 29.1
1985	26 308	6 800 25.8

Source: Datenreport 1987:166, Table 9  
Percentages calculated by author

Table 2.7

## Church attachment 1953-1987

	1953 %	1965 %	1969 %	1972 %	1976 %	1980 %	1983 %	1987 %
Catholics	47	47	48	48	43	46	43	46
Church attachment								
Strong	60	59	48	46	40	36	35	36
Moderate	20	24	30	26	26	29	27	31
None	20	16	21	27	34	35	37	33
Protestants	49	50	49	47	49	48	50	47
Church attachment								
Strong	19	8	7	6	6	7	9	7
Moderate	33	49	45	36	31	29	27	29
None	48	42	47	57	63	64	63	64
Other/no confession	4	3	3	5	8	6	7	7

Source: Berger et al 1987:264, Table 10

has been a significant decline in the proportion of Catholics regularly attending the Sunday mass. Whilst 48% of Catholics were regular attenders at the Sunday service in 1960, the corresponding figure for 1985 was just 26% (Table 2.6)



(Datenreport 1987:166). Directly comparable figures for the Protestant Church are not available. However, in a 1985 survey, the Federal Statistical Office established that on three random Sundays only about 5% of registered Protestants attended church services (Datenreport 1987:167). The findings of the Federal Statistical Office are corroborated by opinion poll surveys of the strength of attachment of church members to their respective churches (Table 2.7). On the basis of surveys carried out by the *Forschungsgruppe Wahlen* following each Federal Election since 1953, the proportion of Catholics expressing a strong attachment to the church (calculated in terms of regular attendance at church services) has fallen progressively from 60% in 1953 to 36% in 1987. The attachment of Protestants to their church has traditionally been weaker than that of Catholics, but even in this case there are strong signs of a further loosening of ties. In 1987 only 7% of Protestant respondents attended church frequently (Berger et al 1987).

In certain urban areas the secularisation process has occurred at a faster rate than that characteristic of the Federal Republic as a whole. In Frankfurt, for example, the membership of the protestant church declined by 38.5% between the censuses of 1970 and 1987. The corresponding decline for the Catholic Church was 25%. Although this absolute decrease can partially be explained in terms of a decrease in the city's population, the city's statistical office also points towards a large number of resignations (*Kirchenaustritte*) from the respective Churches (Frankfurt 1988:87). Church membership has also been in decline

in Duisburg. Between 1975 and 1986 membership of the Catholic Church fell by 17% and that of the Protestant Church by 21%, whilst the population of the city as a whole fell by some 13%. Over the same period the proportion of Duisburg's German population belonging to one of the other faiths or holding no church affiliation at all increased by 61.8%, from 7.6% to 12.3% (Duisburg 1988:70, Table 5.2).

In terms of the frequency of church attendance, a survey undertaken in Hesse's Rhine-Main area (which includes the Frankfurt conurbation) in 1979 showed that only 14% of respondents regularly went to church; the figure for Roman Catholics being somewhat higher at 29% (Schacht 1986). Significantly, a similar survey completed at the same time for the whole of Hesse indicated that 46% of the region's Catholic population continued to attend church regularly (Schacht 1986:84). In urban areas, therefore, specifically in the service sector centres, there is clear evidence of a lower level of regular church attendance than in the non-metropolitan areas of the Federal Republic.

The alliance of the religious sections of the population with the CDU/CSU, regarded by Pappi (1984) as the main element of the country's "stable" party system, becomes less significant when placed into the context of the on-going process of secularisation evident in West German society.

#### 2.1.4. Summary: Modernisation and the New Politics

The process of socio-economic modernisation has serious implications for the stability of the West German party system. Not only are the dual processes of tertiarisation and secularisation weakening the power of traditional social cleavages to determine electoral behaviour, but they have also served to promote the rise of new social groups no longer bound by historical traditions to support for particular political parties. This applies in particular to the new middle classes, in which adherents of the New Politics are over-represented.

Of special relevance to this study are the great disparities in the progress of social and economic change across the Federal Republic. Generally, change occurs in the urban areas of the country more rapidly than in the non-urban areas. One must also differentiate, however, between cities with a modern economy based upon the service industries and cities which still have a high reliance upon the traditional production-based sector. Given the assumption, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, that New Politics values will prevail in localities in which the relevant socio-economic structures exist, it is evident that local party systems will be characterised to varying degrees by the spread of the New Politics.

The New Politics approach also provides a means of interpreting variations in the success of the Greens across West Germany's communities (see section 3.3.). Given the pace of social and economic change in the service sector centres (Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt), it is to be expected that the party systems in these

localities will be more susceptible to fluctuations in voting behaviour than party systems in localities in which the modernisation process has tended to lag behind (e.g. the cities of the Ruhr). The service sector centres should also be at the forefront of the spread of New Politics issues to the local level of the Federal Republic. In order to assess whether this is in fact the case there is a need for detailed case studies to be completed in localities of varying socio-economic types. This study will seek to examine the spread of the New Politics in one particular West German city, Mainz (see Chapter 4).

## 2.2. New Politics at the local level

The development of the New Politics in West Germany has been well illustrated at the federal level (e.g. Baker et al 1981). As yet, however, the effect of the New Politics upon local party systems has not been studied in any depth.

The thesis to be developed in this study is that a New Politics dimension now exists at local level in the Federal Republic and that this dimension fundamentally challenges a number of the traditional interpretations of the function and scope of local politics. It will be suggested that the New Politics at local level embraces each of the three characteristics attributed by Poguntke (1989) and Müller-Rommel (1989) to the New Politics at federal level: ideology, organisation and adherents. The study will proceed to examine the degree to which local politics in West Germany was already changing prior to the emergence of the Greens. It will be suggested, that a new style of local politics now exists in West Germany, a feature to be termed the "New Local

Politics".

Before directly addressing the concept of a New Local Politics, it is first necessary to establish a picture of what is understood to represent the traditional role of local politics in West Germany. Only against this background will it be possible to judge the extent to which the Greens' approach to local politics differs from that of the "established" political parties - a feature to be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

#### 2.2.1. West Germany's local political structures

The concept of local self-government is enshrined within the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany and represents a principal element of the country's decentralised structure. In opting for a federal structure, the formulators of the Basic Law, West Germany's constitution, sought to secure for regional governments and local authorities a number of key self-administrative powers (e.g. Stammen 1977). This would undermine any future attempts to reintroduce the centralised governmental structures established by the National Socialists (Smith 1986; Kistler 1985:106; Jesse 1986:44). It is important to note, however, that the implementation of a decentralised structure of government was not simply a post-war imposition of the Allies. Despite the obvious preference of the United States for the implementation of a federal structure in Germany, the country possessed a long tradition of local self-government, reaching back to Stein's reforms in the early 19th Century (Kühr 1983; Naßmacher 1986).

The West German Basic Law defines the function of local

government in Article 28 within the context of the inter-relationship of the federal and regional levels of the state. The constitution formally places local authorities under the regulative competences of the Federal Republic's regional governments. In this respect, it is not possible to treat local councils as a third tier of government in West Germany, but rather as a third tier of the country's administration (Jesse 1986:67). Nevertheless, Article 28.2 of the Basic Law provides local authorities, in theory at least, with a wide-ranging degree of control over the nature and scope of the activities they are to perform:

Den Gemeinden muß das Recht gewährleistet sein, alle Angelegenheiten der örtlichen Gemeinschaft im Rahmen der Gesetze in eigener Verantwortung zu regeln.

The loose formulation of the Basic Law allows two conflicting interpretations of the role of local decision-makers to be made. Firstly, according to an expansive, literal interpretation of Article 28.2, local authorities have the right to regulate all matters of direct relevance to the local population. Secondly, a narrow interpretation of this constitutional clause would tend to limit the powers of local government, since local authorities are obliged to restrict themselves to matters of local relevance only and have to operate within the framework of national and regional legislation. This second interpretation lies at the heart of the legalistic and unpolitical approach to local politics in West Germany. In practice both the broad and restrictive interpretations of the function of local politics are to be found in the Federal Republic. The constitutional rights, guaranteed in Article 28.2, are simply used in different ways by West Germany's

local political actors. Among the factors which influence the extent to which the narrow or broad interpretation of the role of local councils is applied are the the location, size and socio-economic structure of the community in question and the political ideology of its decision-makers.

Location is of significance because the regional governments dictate the framework within which the local councils under its jurisdiction operate. This is done through the mechanism of the *Gemeindeordnung* (local constitution), which outlines the system of local government to be adopted and regulates the inter-relationship of the three organs of local government: the council (*Gemeinderat*), the mayor or council leader (*Bürgermeister*) and the local administration (*Verwaltung*). The local constitutions also dictate the nature of the electoral law to be instituted within the respective regions and the duration of the periods of office of the various organs of local government (see Woyke and Steffens 1987:102f).

#### 2.2.1.1. Local Council Constitutions in West Germany

Four basic systems of local self-government exist in the Federal Republic: the North German council constitution, the South German council constitution, the mayoral constitution and the collegial constitution (see Gabriel 1979c; Leder and Friedrich 1986; Schmidt-Eichstaedt 1989; Fabritius 1975; Wehling 1986). It is necessary to briefly outline the most notable features of each of the systems of local government, since the nature of the relevant constitution can affect the degree of openness of local councils to the New Politics.

- i) The North German council constitution operates in the states of North Rhine Westphalia and Lower Saxony and accords the elected councils a central position in the decision-making process (Andersen 1984; Leder and Friedrich 1986:38f). The adoption of this system of local government in the post-war period occurred under the influence of the regions' British occupiers. In both Lower Saxony and North Rhine Westphalia the elected council adopts a position of central importance. It acts as a legislative and an executive body and assumes full responsibility for the formulation and implementation of key policy decisions (Andersen 1984:19). The council is presided over by an honorary rather than a professional mayor, elected by the members of the council for the duration of the legislative period only. A more influential role is fulfilled by the council's chief executive, whose function is to establish a basis upon which council decisions can be reached and then to implement the decisions according to the council's specifications (3). The council executive is elected by the members of the council for a period of 8 years in North Rhine Westphalia, which extends beyond the period of office of the council itself. This type of constitution can, in theory, greatly enhance the role of the political parties in the council chamber, since the competences of the mayor and administration are subjugated to it.
- ii) The South German council constitution accords a similar leading role to the elected council in the states of Bavaria



and Baden-Württemberg (see Bockelt 1989; Wehling and Pfitzer 1985). The most significant divergence from the Northern system is to be found in the direct election of the local mayor, a feature which greatly enhances the status of the council's figurehead. In Bavaria the mayor is elected for a period of 6 years, in Baden-Württemberg for 8. The directly-elected mayor fulfils two roles, presiding over council affairs in addition to assuming control over the operation of the local administration. In both states, the mayor also maintains his status as a member of the council and can participate with full voting rights in most council resolutions (Woyke and Steffens 1987:115). In Bavaria, the division of the competences between the council and mayor is clearly defined by the local constitution and works clearly in favour of the mayor (Bockelt 1989:21). The fact that the mayor is elected directly and that mayoral elections do not necessarily run concurrently with local council elections tends to further diminish the role of the parties in the southern states. In Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg the personality element in local elections is consequently regarded as being more important than in the Northern States.

- iii) In the Saarland and the Rhineland Palatinate a mayoral system operates. The principal difference to the Southern German council constitution results from the rather diminished role of the mayor. Although the mayor chairs council sessions and is formally responsible for the

operation of the local administration and the execution of council decisions, he is voted into office by the members of the council and not directly by the electorate (Hess and Hundertmark 1987:41). The mayor can also be removed from office in the Saarland and Rhineland Palatinate by a two-thirds majority of council members (Leder and Friedrich 1986:36). Despite these restrictions, the mayor still occupies a significant position in both states, if only by the duration of his term of office. In the large towns and cities of the Rhineland Palatinate, for example, the mayor is elected for a period of 10 years (Hess and Hundertmark 1987). In the Saarland and Rhineland Palatinate the mayor must inevitably adopt a more cautious approach when dealing with the parties represented in the council, than would be necessary if he were directly elected. This would tend to favour a more consensual approach to local government decision-making. In certain large towns and cities in the Rhineland Palatinate this approach has been augmented by the adoption of a system similar to the collegial system, described below (Hess 1986:28). In these cases the mayor chairs a *Stadtvorstand*, composed of both honorary and professional administrators (*Beigeordneten* or *Dezernenten*) elected by the council. The function of the *Stadtvorstand* is essentially to prepare council decisions and address potential sources of conflict.

- iv) Finally, in Hesse and in the towns and cities of Schleswig-Holstein a collegial constitution (*Magistratsverfassung*) has been introduced (Schneider and

Ramb 1988). Instead of a single person fulfilling the dual role of council leader and administrative head this task is performed by an executive body (*Magistrat* or *Gemeindevorstand*) composed of the mayor and a number of *Beigeordneten* (Lilge 1986). The *Beigeordneten* have specific authority in particular spheres of local government activity and are elected to the *Magistrat* by the members of the council for a period of 6 years, with the possibility of serving a maximum of two periods in office (Lilge 1986:56). Executive committee members are not allowed to belong to the council whilst holding office. In Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein, the mayor's main function is to preside over the sessions of the executive committee, since the plenary council sessions are chaired by a secondary figure (in Hesse the *Stadtverordnetenvorsteher*), elected by the council for the duration of the legislative period only.

Having outlined the principal differences between West Germany's local constitutions, the question which arises in the context of this study pertains to the relevance of the different systems of local government to the spread of the New Politics. Evidence suggests that the various local constitutions exert only a marginal effect upon local decision-making processes in West Germany. Citing a comparative study by Derlien et al (1975), Gabriel (1979c) found that in practice a relatively uniform system of local decision-making exists across the communities of the Federal Republic. Any differences which do occur are attributed by Gabriel to other than constitutional factors

(Gabriel 1979c:68). The local constitutions offer all local authorities the potential to independently determine the type of policies which they can implement for the benefit of local citizens. In North Rhine Westphalia, for example, the constitution allows the council the power to address all issues it judges to be of local relevance: "*Der Rat der Gemeinde ist für alle Angelegenheiten der Gemeindeverwaltung zuständig...*" (Andersen 1984:19). Similar rights are guaranteed within the local constitutions of all other regions (e.g. Lilge 1988; Bockelt 1989; Leder and Friedrich 1986). In theory, therefore, local councils should be able to address themselves to a wide range of issues characteristic of the New Politics. In practice, councils use their rights in different ways.

The division of responsibilities between the various organs of local government offers a greater opportunity for the appearance of conflict. Where a single person fulfils more than one role (Southern Germany, Rhineland Palatinate, Saarland), the likelihood of conflict arising is substantially less than in situations in which powers are separated between a range of bodies (e.g. North Rhine Westphalia).

However, factors other than the nature of local council constitutions are likely to be more important in determining the spread of the New Politics. Such factors as the socio-economic structure of the relevant localities, the nature of the local parties and the composition of the local electorate are of most relevance in this context.

In the next section, the main characteristics of local political

activities in the Federal Republic prior to the emergence of the New Politics are to be examined. This permits a more precise specification of what is understood in this study to be the "Old Local Politics".

#### 2.2.1.2. The Established Pattern of Local Politics in West Germany: The "Old Local Politics"

Local politics in the first decades of the Federal Republic's existence was characterised by non-confrontational decision-making processes. This applied universally, irrespective of the nature of the relevant local council constitution or of the size of the community in question. Several factors served to reinforce the "unpolitical" label placed upon local politics in the West Germany, four of which are to be highlighted in this study. These are the traditional separation of the "political" from the "administrative" in German local politics, the nature of the tasks performed by local authorities in the post-war period, the population's disinterest in all aspects of politics in the wake of the war and the absence of local party organisations from the vast majority of West Germany's localities.

Firstly, there is a strong German tradition which seeks to differentiate between political decision-making and the successful running of a council administration (Simon 1987:242). In the academic literature there is still a tendency in some quarters to over-emphasise the administrative nature of the activities of local councils (e.g. Pappermann et al 1981:32ff; Pagenkopf 1975; Schmidt-Eichstaedt 1989:31; Schmidt-Jortzig 1982:20ff). Local officials were often educated in the legal

profession and understood their role to be one which placed them above party politics and allegiance to particular social classes:

... in den Rathäusern [dominierte] der Typ des juristisch ausgebildeten Kommunalbeamten, der sich keineswegs als Vertreter einer Partei oder seiner (bürgerlichen) Gesellschaftsschicht, sondern als über den Parteien und Klassen stehender Leiter der kommunalen Verwaltung verstand (Naßmacher 1986:245).

This corresponds to a widely-held belief that the role of the elected council is to rubber-stamp decisions made by the professional administration or to fulfil the requirements of legislation passed at higher system levels (e.g. Voigt 1986:4). The unpolitical idyll of local council activity has even pervaded the political education of West Germans for much of the post-war period. The following quote from a school text book shows the emphasis placed upon objective decision-making:

Die Arbeit sämtlicher Gemeindevertreter in der Bundesrepublik (...) erfordert im Interesse der Bürger sachliche und fachliche Entscheidungen. Sie sind zwar parteipolitisch mitbestimmt, dürfen aber nicht aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Parteipolitik allein gefällt werden (Lilge 1966:154).

In their study of a number of small communities in the Federal Republic Ilgen and Jeggle identified public discontent with the term "political" when applied to the running of local affairs. Politics was associated negatively by those questioned with party politics at higher levels of the system (Ilgen and Jeggle 1978:38ff, cited in Voigt 1986). Even studies carried out of local politicians (including members of political parties) have shown that there is a widespread feeling that their particular office is unpolitical (e.g. Jakob 1975:26). Such a belief is

bolstered by the absence within local constitutions of reference to opposition groups. Paragraph 30 of the local constitution of the Rhineland Palatinate, for example, states that individual councillors are obliged to serve the common good rather than party political or sectional interests (Hess and Hundertmark 1987:43). As a result, it has been suggested that opposition at local level tends to occur only in a loosely organised fashion, depending upon the specific question under debate (Fabritius 1975:41). Given the emphasis placed upon collegial decision-making techniques, Simon has described the political structure of West German local councils in terms of their "*harmonische Proporz*" (Simon 1987:242).

A second factor underlying the unpolitical nature of local politics in the Federal Republic arose from the nature of their duties. The problems facing local authorities in the immediate post-war period were such that conflicts failed to materialise. The rebuilding process and the requirement to fulfil the local population's basic needs (food, housing, fuel) gained the support of all local groups and prevented a polarisation of public opinion. Grand coalitions of the major parties or all-party executives were commonplace in the Federal Republic's local councils. There was a general consensus that the pursuit of economic growth would bring tangible benefits to all. As Frey pointed out, there was no controversy over town development issues in the 1950s and 1960s, since no town development plans existed (Frey 1976:21). The uncontroversial approach was linked to a concentration upon matters which could be dealt with in an objective manner:

Was zählte, war die effiziente Problemlösung, deren Eindeutigkeit durch die Sache selbst und ihren dringlichen Regelungsbedarf vorgegeben schien. Hier einmütig zu votieren folgte dem selbstgesetzten Gebot, die politischen "Kosten" einer Sachentscheidung niedrig zu halten (Beyer and Holtmann 1987:152).

This consensus was carried largely intact from the rebuilding period into the 1960s and still persists to a greater or lesser extent in local politics in the Federal Republic today (Kuschke and Cryns 1984:74). It forms the basis of the political idyll held to exist at local level and described by Pflaum (1954) in the following terms:

Das Ortsinteresse verbündet Gruppen gegensätzlicher Weltanschauung, die Probleme, die auf der Ebene der Gemeinde entschieden werden, sind so sehr praktischer Natur, daß Grundsatzfragen weltanschaulicher Art nur selten berührt werden und gesellschaftliche Neugestaltung tiefgreifender Art von der Gemeinde nicht ausgeht, so daß hier keine Gelegenheit zum Austragen ideologischer Differenzen und umfassender wirtschaftlicher Interessen besteht (Pflaum 1954:205 cited in Klein 1981:310).

In this context it is also worth examining the type of issues traditionally addressed by local councils in the Federal Republic. Certain areas such as social security and health care provision and the satisfaction of housing needs fell into the realm of German local authorities in the 19th Century, keen to assist in the industrialisation process and secure their own economic base. In the 20th Century additional duties arose with public enterprises assuming control of tasks traditionally performed by the private sector (energy provision, water, transport), but also fulfilling duties which encouraged economic growth (street cleaning, waste disposal, drainage, road construction) (Naßmacher 1986:246). With the extension of the social state in the post-war period further duties fell upon



local authorities, including the establishment of schools, old people's homes and recreational and cultural facilities. In addition to the provision of services to the local population and local industry, local authorities also play a major role in planning. The *Bundesbaugesetz* of 1960 granted local authorities the exclusive right to determine the economic and structural development of their communities, by allowing them to specify the designated function of all land within their boundaries.

The nature of the issues addressed by local councils tended to reinforce the unpolitical and consensual approach to local affairs. As Lehbruch noted in the mid-1970s, decisions on issues related to the building of kindergartens, the provision of drainage or the preparation of land for building purposes cannot be made according to the criteria of party politics (Lehbruch 1975:5).

A third factor underlying the unpolitical nature of West Germany's local politics for much of the post-war period was the general lack of interest in politics at that time. This resulted primarily from the experience of National Socialist rule, but is also linked to the concentration of German citizens upon the rebuilding process. The necessity of satisfying basic survival needs left little time free for political activities or participation, which were in any case discouraged by the controls placed upon the German economy by the occupying powers (Beyer and Holtmann 1987:149).

The lack of interest in politics was most clearly expressed in

the low turnouts to elections at various levels of government (Kuschke and Cryns 1984; Ausschuß Wahlforschung 1988). Political culture studies have also illustrated the widespread apathy of the German population in political matters in the post-war period (e.g. Conradt 1980; Gabriel 1986). At local level the lack of interest in politics was reinforced by the established working pattern developed by the local councils. Controversial political debate was rare in plenary council sessions, but tended to occur, if at all, in (closed) committee meetings. Agreements reached by the various organs of local government behind closed doors, paved the way for the unanimous approval of the majority of proposals to the council in its open sessions. This served to reinforce the consensual appearance of local decision-making in West Germany (Frey and Naßmacher 1975:199).

Finally, the absence of political conflict at local level was facilitated in West Germany by the fact that the major political parties were only organised in a small proportion of the country's local communities (Kaack 1971:489f; Kuschke and Cryns 1984:74). Although the parties tended to be present in the larger towns and cities, they were absent from the overwhelming majority of the small localities. Kaack (1971:489) noted that the SPD, as the largest political party in West Germany, was only organised in one third of local communities in 1967. This can be attributed to the large number of (mainly rural) local councils in West Germany. Until the universal *Gebietsreform* of the late 1960s and early 1970s there were over 24,000 self-governing communities (*Gemeinden*) in the Federal Republic and a further 425 districts (*Landkreise*) (Gabriel 1979:146). The majority of these

communities were very small with populations of less than 2,000, making the establishment of an effective and comprehensive party organisation across the country very difficult. This situation persisted until the local government boundary reforms of the late 1960s and 1970s (see Section 2.2.2.3. below).

Table 2.8

Local election results of free voters' groups  
in the Rhineland Palatinate, 1948-1984

Year of election	%age vote	seats
1948	16.7	5 495
1952	33.6	12 147
1956	31.9	11 739
1960	25.9	9 863
1964	25.8	10 189
1969	25.9	9 111
1974	17.5	6 332
1979	15.7	5 317
1984	15.5	4 989

Source: Rhineland Palatinate 1985:24, Table 1

The secondary role of the major political parties at local level was bolstered by the German population's lack of interest in politics during the post-war period. In place of political parties, overtly unpolitical groups tended to dominate local political life in the majority of small localities, especially of Southern Germany. The appeal of the various free voting initiatives (*freie Wählervereinigungen* or *Wählergemeinschaften*) lay in their non-ideological approach to local affairs. These groups, composed largely of a cross-section of local dignitaries, continued to gain substantial support in local elections,

particularly in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and the Rhineland Palatinate well into the 1970s. Table 2.8 shows the level of electoral support for free voting initiative groups in local elections held in the Rhineland Palatinate between 1948 and 1984. Until the 1960s these groups still gained almost one quarter of all votes in the *Gemeinden* (Rhineland Palatinate 1985).

The significance of the independent electoral groups lies in the fact that they generally regard themselves as being "anti-party parties". They lay great emphasis upon their unpolitical approach and concentrate upon providing solutions to concrete local problems rather than formulating a coherent ideology (e.g. Voigt 1981:29):

Gemeindepolitik wird in der Regel als sachbezogener Entscheidungsprozess angesehen und gegen wertorientierte Politik der Parteien und Interessengruppen abgegrenzt (Stöss 1986b:2398).

Studies show that in West Germany's small rural communities "single party systems" are common (Wehling 1981:26). The predominance of such overtly non-ideological groups has tended to reinforce the image of local politics being an unpolitical matter. Even in large cities, however, it was not uncommon in the first decades of the Federal Republic's existence for independent candidates to gain election to such important public posts as mayor (e.g. Lehmbruch 1975:4). In Stuttgart an independent mayor remained in office until 1974 (Frey and Naßmacher 1975:208). Wehling's (1989) study of local mayors in the three regions of Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and the Rhineland-Palatinate illustrates the secondary role played by party membership in gaining public office. Wehling established that one mayor in two

in Baden-Württemberg was not a party member in 1984, whilst in Bavaria in 1985 35% of local mayors were initially proposed by free voting initiatives (Wehling 1989:229). In addition, 60% of mayors holding office in a series of larger towns and cities in the Rhineland Palatinate in 1987 were elected unopposed - a further indication of the strength of consensus democracy at local level (Wehling 1989:230). Where parties were present at local level they tended to de-emphasise their political role:

Daß Entscheidungen "an der Sache" orientiert, daß vorausgehende Diskussionen "sachlich" fundiert sein müßten und die Debatte im Rathaus nicht "unsachgemäß" dem "Parteienstreit" ausgeliefert werden dürfe - diese Grundüberzeugung wurde von den Ortsparteien selbst mitgetragen (Beyer and Holtmann 1987:152).

This is a feature Lehmbruch terms the "*Januskopf*" (two-facedness) of the political parties (Lehmbruch 1975:5). On the one hand the political role of the parties at local level is denied in order to conform to established patterns of local political behaviour. On the other hand the same parties act as local sub-organisations of national parties and seek to mobilise public support for their organisations in national and regional elections.

Traditionally, therefore, one can speak of local politics being characterised by consensual decision-making and by a marked absence of party political conflict. For the purposes of this study, this is to be regarded as the "Old Local Politics". Old Local Politics operated (and continues to operate in a large number of localities) within the strict bounds of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law. Only those issues of direct local relevance are debated in the council chamber. Procedures exist which prevent the emergence of party political conflict. In the Inglehartian

sense the subjects of discussion are essentially materialistic. Topics for debate revolve around such issues as the provision of a modern local infrastructure, which incorporates the fulfilment of the locality's basic energy requirements (heating, lighting, water), the creation of new road and public transportation systems, and a concentration upon such basic public facilities as swimming pools and libraries and a range of cultural activities.

It is against this background that the changes of the late 1960s and 1970s, associated with the development of the New Politics, must be addressed. This will provide the foundation for an examination of the emergence of the West German Greens in the mid-1970s (Chapter 3). The fact that this party developed as an overtly political and ideological force, becoming established initially at local level, was bound to be of influence upon the consensual local party systems of West Germany.


#### 2.2.2. West German local politics in transition: Politicisation and parliamentarisation

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the established consensual pattern of West Germany's local politics was undergoing a gradual process of change. The two main features of the change were a growing politicisation of the work of local councils and the parliamentarisation of their working patterns. Symbolic of the nature and extent of the change were the events in Frankfurt in the 1970s (Arndt 1983; Schacht 1985). For the first time in a major West German city, one political party (the SPD) exploited its majority status to remove all members of the major opposition party (the CDU) from the council executive committee (*Magistrat*).

In adopting the confrontational path, the Frankfurt SPD sought to put an end to the consensual approach to local politics once and for all. The Frankfurt model was copied in a number of other large towns and cities prior to the more universal and radical changes witnessed in the late 1970s and 1980s.

In short, there was a growing awareness that the local political idyll of objective and consensual decision-making no longer matched the reality of local politics in West Germany (see Jesse 1986:67; Simon 1987:243; Gabriel 1984:149f).

In this section it is necessary to identify the factors which contributed towards the onset of the decline in the traditional approach to local politics in the Federal Republic. It is also necessary to examine the extent of this decline prior to the rise of the Greens. Three areas are to be addressed. Firstly, the changing macro-economic climate in West Germany, which reinforced an existing financial crisis within the country's local authorities (Section 2.2.2.1.). Secondly, the changing political climate. This was characterised by changes in the political culture of the Federal Republic, which saw the expectations placed by the public upon their local authorities increase and a growing level of interest in local affairs, by the formation of the Social-Liberal government and by the rise of the New Social Movements (Section 2.2.2.2.). Thirdly, the effect of administrative reforms, which served to ease the difficulties of organising at local level for the major political parties (Section 2.2.2.3.). It should be noted at the outset, however that it is extremely difficult to treat the three factors



independently of one another, a feature which will become evident in the course of the analysis.

#### 2.2.2.1. The Changing Economic Climate

During the period of economic growth in the 1950s and early 1960s, West Germany's local authorities could satisfactorily fulfil their legal obligation to cater to the needs of their inhabitants without being placed under undue financial pressure. This situation changed towards the end of the 1960s as a result of the worsening national economic climate and the rapid expansion of the local authorities' duties. The financial reforms of 1969 (*Finanzreformgesetz*) did not fundamentally reduce the financial strains under which local authorities operated (Jesse 1986:67).

Local authorities in the Federal Republic are funded from a range of sources, depending upon the nature of the tasks to be performed. In addition to local property and business taxes (*Grundsteuer* and *Gewerbesteuer*), a significant proportion of local government funding comes from central and regional government sources. This type of funding tends to be linked to the fulfilment of specified duties. It is made up of a proportion of income tax receipts, reallocated to local councils according to their population size, and various transfer payments, made to meet the costs of administering national and regional legislation. Any reductions in the level of funding from these higher levels automatically reduces the financial manoeuvrability of local authorities, since they are legally obliged to balance their books each year. West Germany's brief economic crisis of



1966/67 led to a reduction of central government funding for local government and forced local authorities into debt.

Additional financial difficulties for West Germany's local authorities in the late 1960s resulted from the increased workload placed upon them by central and regional governments. Local authority duties fall into one of two basic categories. Firstly, there are the statutory and voluntary self-administrative duties (*Selbstverwaltungsaufgaben*), such as the provision of parks, leisure facilities and youth centres and the operation of public utilities. Individual local authorities determine independently the precise nature of such tasks, the manner of their implementation and the source of their funding (see Schäfer and Stricker 1989:39f). With the number of statutory duties tending to rise over recent decades, there have been fewer resources available for the funding of voluntary duties. This severely restricts the ability of local authorities to provide for their local citizens and leads some commentators to question the continued applicability of the term "local self-administration" (e.g. Jesse 1986:67).

A second sphere of local government activity in West Germany is composed of the obligatory duties placed upon local authorities by higher levels of government as a result of federal or regional legislation (*Hoheitsaufgaben*). These duties include, for example, the administration of social security services and benefits, the operation of passport services and the registration of local citizens and the provision of schools. Local authorities can exert only minimal control over the means of implementation of

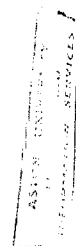
this type of legislation. This second category of duties has become increasingly important at local level since the 1960s, with the extension of the welfare state in the Federal Republic. The passing of new legislation at national and regional level has placed new burdens upon local authorities, given that these bodies are responsible for the implementation of the legislation. Their ability to fulfil such duties adequately, depends largely upon the provision of appropriate funding by the legislating body. In the late 1960s, regional and national governments sought to reduce their own expenditure as a result of the economic downturn, whilst expecting the local authorities to bear the full brunt of the rising social costs associated with the recession. As a result, the level of indebtedness of local authorities increased substantially.

The financial crisis affecting West Germany's local authorities itself served to politicise the activities of the country's local councils. There was a growing awareness of the framework and limitations within which local councils were operating, which led to the development of conflict between local government on the one hand and regional and national governments on the other. Initially, the financial crisis at local level was treated as a problem irrespective of party political allegiances, with local parties seeking to improve the financial situation of the local authorities. With the persistence of the crisis, however, the funding issue became increasingly controversial and formed the basis for local level conflict.

#### 2.2.2.2. The Changing Political Climate

The second aspect of the changing nature of local politics in the Federal Republic to be addressed is the changing macropolitical climate of the late 1960s. In general terms, the significant developments affecting local politics related to changes in the political culture of West Germany, which corresponded to a growing interest in local politics, the inauguration of the social-liberal government in Bonn, and the emergence of the new social movements.

One of the main factors underlying the unpolitical nature of traditional local politics in West Germany stemmed from the general lack of public interest in all aspects of politics during the rebuilding period. The Almond and Verba (1960) study of political culture in West Germany suggested that this lack of interest lay at the heart of West Germany's "passive political culture". At local level this was expressed in low turnout rates in local council elections and by the lack of public participation in local decision-making processes. All political culture studies conducted in the Federal Republic since the initial Civic Culture research have clearly illustrated the country's movement from a passive to a more active political culture (Conradt 1980; Baker et al 1981; Gabriel 1986; Berg-Schlosser and Schissler 1987; Smith 1986; Reichel 1979). The most significant changes occurred in the second half of the 1960s (Baker et al 1981; Conradt 1980). Whilst the majority of studies have concentrated upon the effect of the changing political culture at national level, the repercussions for local politics were equally great. Even the first Almond and Verba (1960) study



showed that feelings of political efficacy were greatest at local level. With a universal increase in the willingness to participate in political activities, there was inevitably a knock-on effect at local level. Since the local level was the one at which most West Germans felt best able to influence decisions, a significant growth of interest in local politics could be discerned towards the end of the 1960s (see Hesse 1982). One more immediate result of the developing interest in local political matters in West Germany was a gradual increase in participation rates in local elections (Ausschuß Wahlforschung 1987:67f; Kuschke and Cryns 1984:90).

The change of Federal Government in 1969 provided an additional focus for the improved status of local politics. The Brandt government's reform platform had a strong bias towards the local level, given that many of the reform proposals were to be implemented by local authorities. This applied in particular to planning legislation (e.g. reform of the *Bundesbaugesetz* 1976, *Städtebauförderungsgesetz* 1971), which sought to improve public access to local decision-making in the town planning sphere. The SPD's youth wing, the *Jungsozialisten*, were prominent in efforts to upgrade the status of the local level, regarding local politics as "*Gesellschaftspolitik*" (Roth 1972). The fact that much of the impetus towards the reform and democratisation of West German society was blunted in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis did little to reduce public expectations of their local authorities.

Perhaps the most important development in West German local



politics in the late 1960s within the context of this study was the emergence of the New Social Movements, particularly of the citizen's initiative movement. Space limitations permit only a brief examination in this study of the principal features of the New Social Movements, which are described in great detail elsewhere (e.g. Roth and Rucht 1987; Brand 1982; Rüdig 1980; Berg-Schlosser and Schissler 1986). Emphasis will be placed upon the factors which led to the rapid rise of the New Social Movements in the Federal Republic and of their specific relevance at local level. Pelinka (1986) cites 5 reasons for the emergence of new forms of extra-parliamentary protest in the early 1970s, each of which has a degree of relevance to this study.

- i) A growing dissatisfaction with a form of politics which was based upon objective rather than subjective decision-making process (*Sachzwangpolitik*). This type of political behaviour lies at the heart of the "Old Local Politics" in the Federal Republic and its emphasis upon the "unpolitical" control of local affairs by council administrations.
- ii) The growing awareness of new political issues, which have already been treated as a feature of the New Politics agenda. This applied in particular to the increasing salience of environmental matters, which lay at the heart of the rise of the citizen's initiative movement. The failure of the established political parties to address the issues of the New Politics was a fundamental factor behind the rise of the New Social Movements and ultimately of the Greens.

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- iii) The renaissance of the normative definition of democracy, especially in the wake of the student protests of the late 1960s. Direct democratic decision-making structures were preferred by the adherents of the New Politics to the representative democratic organisational forms of the established political parties. This helps explain the adoption by the New Social Movements of non-hierarchical organisational structures, which were later to be adopted by the Greens.
- iv) The developing interest in local politics, regarded as the least remote level of government and consequently as the best level at which the New Social Movements could achieve their aims. The local level became a testing ground for theories of the New Social Movements linked to the application of direct democratic procedures and encouragement of mass participation in decision-making processes.
- v) The declining loyalty of electorates in the traditional political parties, which had developed into catch-all parties unable to accommodate the specific interests of narrow-based interest groups. This applied not only to the political parties at national level, but also to those present at local level. The fact that all-party coalitions existed in a significant proportion of West Germany's local councils only reinforced the impression that there was little to differentiate the parties from one another.

Citizens' initiative groups developed throughout the Federal

Republic, focussing in the main upon local issues. Although estimates of the number of such action groups vary quite considerably, depending upon the definitions adopted of what constitutes a citizens' initiative group, Rüdig (1980) suggests that there were at least as many members of such groups in 1980 as there were members of the major political parties in West Germany (see Arzberger 1980).

The universal appearance of citizens' initiative groups placed local decision-makers under a greater degree of public scrutiny. Planning decisions in particular became the source of public debate, which in itself contributed towards a politicisation of the nature of the work undertaken by local councils. It was no longer possible to resolve planning issues behind closed committee doors, given the level of expertise developed by citizens' initiative groups.

As a result of the changing macro-political climate in West Germany in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it is apparent that local politics became increasingly important. The local level was the one at which much of the SPD-FDP reform legislation was to be implemented. It was also a level in which adherents of the New Politics set great store, given its accessibility and the fact that many of their aims could be achieved through local means.

#### 2.2.2.3. Administrative Changes

The final factor to be addressed with respect to the politicisation and parliamentarisation of West Germany's local level, is the effect of the administrative changes upon local



political structures. A main purpose of the sweeping boundary reforms was the re-establishment of the independence of local level decision-makers (Jesse 1986:68). By creating larger administrative districts, local authorities would find it easier to manage their resources, make planning decisions and provide funding for public facilities.

Table 2.9

Administrative structure (1968 and 1984)

State	Communities		Independent towns		Districts	
	1968	1984	1968	1984	1968	1984
Schleswig-Holstein	1 378	1 131	4	4	17	11
Hamburg	1	1	1	1	-	-
Lower Saxony	4 231	1 031	15	9	60	38
Bremen	2	2	2	2	-	-
North Rhine Westphalia	2 277	396	35	23	57	31
Hesse	2 684	427	9	5	39	21
Rhineland Palatinate	2 905	2 303	12	12	28	24
Baden-Württemberg	3 379	1 111	9	9	63	35
Bavaria	7 077	2 025	48	25	143	71
Saarland	347	52	1	-	7	6
Berlin (West)	1	1	1	1	-	-
Federal Republic	24 282	8 507	137	91	414	237

Source: Jesse 1986:68, Table 23

The principal political impact of the boundary reforms of the late 1960s and 1970s was that it became much easier for the established political parties to organise themselves at local level. As a result of the reforms, the overall number of communities in West Germany fell from a level of over 24,000 to the current figure of around 8,500 (Table 2.9).

In certain regions, the reforms were more drastic than in others.



In North Rhine Westphalia, for example, the number of communities was reduced from a figure of 2,362 in 1965 to only 396 in 1983; no community in this region currently has a population of less than 3,000 (Pappermann 1984:183). In Hesse between 1970 and 1980 the number of communities fell by 83.8%, from 2,622 to 427 (Stöss 1986:2397). The most significant decline in Hesse was experienced by the smallest communities. In 1984 Hesse had only 11 communities with less than 2,000 inhabitants, as opposed to the 2,209 which belonged to this category in 1970 (Lilge 1986:55). In the Rhineland Palatinate, however, the boundary reforms led to less dramatic changes. In this region the number of self-governing communities fell from 2,903 in 1967 to 2,291 in 1979 (Kühr 1983:6). Certain measures were taken in some regions to compensate for the loss of independence of a large number of small communities and the resulting feelings of alienation on the part of their inhabitants. This involved the establishment of neighbourhood councils (*Ortsbeiräte* or *Bezirksvertretungen*) with powers to influence council proposals affecting their locality. The limited financial resources of such bodies have restricted the ability of sub-local councils to establish themselves as a serious political institution in the Federal Republic.

The vast reduction in the number of local authorities - achieved by the fusion of many of the smaller localities into larger administrative units - made the possibility of gaining representation in each of the country's local councils a realistic aim for the major parties for the first time in the Federal Republic's history. The degree of success of the two



catch-all parties in achieving this end was expressed in terms of the increasing number of local party organisations affiliated to each of the parties, also from the parties' rising membership figures during the 1970s.

One effect of the development of better organisational networks by the major political parties and their increasing presence in local council chambers was a decline in the share of the vote gained by the apolitical free voter's associations. This in itself tended to politicise local politics, since the diminishing role of the free voters' groups corresponded with a declining orientation towards matters of a purely local nature. A second effect of the growing representation of the major political parties at local level was the development of a degree of confrontation in local councils. The party political boundaries apparent at national and regional levels of government applied increasingly at local level, with members of the major political parties facing one another in council chambers (Gabriel 1984).

The administrative reforms had an additional impact upon the style of local politics in West Germany. Since the councils made decisions for greater numbers of people, it proved necessary for the parties to professionalise their approach to local politics. Since more and more decisions had to be made, parliamentary styles of decision-making began to find their way into local councils. Decisions were increasingly deferred to council sub-committees, where party experts had a greater say. In effect, the structure of federal and regional decision-making bodies was increasingly adopted at local level.



As a result of the economic, political and administrative changes, the traditional approach to local politics was experiencing a decline in the 1970s. Although the unpolitical and consensual approach still dominated, there were signs that the activities of local councils were becoming overtly more political and that the style of local politics was becoming more comparable to that of higher level parliaments.

### 2.3. Summary: New Local Politics in the Mid-1970s

In this chapter the foundation has been laid for the examination of the impact of the Greens upon West German local politics from the end of the 1970s. Within the broad context of changes affecting all levels of the West German party system, it has been shown that local party systems are affected in different ways by the New Politics, depending upon the extent of the socio-economic change experienced. The New Politics was more likely to play a role in the party systems of those large towns and cities which had witnessed rapid social and economic change. In localities left behind by the modernisation process, the New Politics were unlikely to play a significant role.

The impact of the New Politics upon local party systems was described in terms of the development of a "New Local Politics", which was in stark contrast to the traditional "Old Local Politics".

The Old Local Politics is characterised by: consensual decision-making structures, which are symbolised by the all-party coalitions which govern a great proportion of West German



localities; a strict adherence to the narrow interpretation of the role of local authorities, as defined by Article 28.2 of the Basic Law, which serves to restrict the scope of the issues addressed by the local council; a preference for representative democratic decision-making forms, as opposed to participative structures.

The New Local Politics is fundamentally different. It is characterised by: parliamentary styles of politics, which give rise to party political confrontation; the adoption of a broad definition of the powers of local decision-makers, which grants local councils the right to address issues regardless of their appropriateness to the local level; open decision-making processes, which allow for a maximum level of public participation in council decisions.

The Old Local Politics clearly predominated in the Federal Republic prior to the emergence of the Greens. Such changes as occurred in the direction of the New Local Politics were confined to the country's major towns and cities (e.g. Frankfurt). Only with the presence of the Greens, as a party of the New Politics, could the changes be transferred to a greater number of local authorities of differing sizes.

In the next chapter, it is necessary to address the role of the Greens at local level with particular regard to the New Local Politics. This will form the basis for the case study analysis of the impact of the Greens upon the local politics of one particular West German city, Mainz.

### Chapter 3

#### The Greens in West Germany's local politics

In this chapter the principal characteristics of Green local politics will be addressed. Following a brief examination of the origins of the Greens at local level, the extent of Green local council representation in the Federal Republic will be investigated. This leads into the question of whether the Green electorate at local level is the same as that at other levels of West Germany's federal system. The discussion continues with an analysis of the broad nature of the issues raised by the Greens in local councils. It will be suggested that the Greens' perception of the function of local self-government and of the scope of local politics differs fundamentally from traditionally held interpretations. The manner in which the Greens' New Politics approach potentially conflicts with established local political practices in West Germany is then outlined. Finally, the two important areas of local political strategy and local party organisation will be analysed. The Greens' organisational structure at local level will be examined in terms of the grassroots democratic strategy favoured by the party. Whether such a strategy is appropriate to the successful participation in West German local politics is called into question.

The examination of the Greens' ideology, strategy and organisation at local level will provide the basis for establishing a series of hypotheses relating to Green local politics, which can be tested in the case study sections.

### 3.1 The origins of the Greens

The electoral origins of the Green Party lie in the participation of citizens' initiative groups in local and regional elections in the Federal Republic during the latter part of the 1970s (Rönsch 1983; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986). Electoral participation by the Greens represented the final stage of a process which saw the ecological movement develop from being a force which was primarily based outside West Germany's parliaments to one essentially located within them.

Rucht (1980) identifies three separate phases in the initial progression of the Greens from movement to political party (also Bolaffi and Kallscheuer 1983:64f; Langguth 1983 and 1984). In the first phase, which lasted until 1973, the individual citizens' initiative groups were still in their formative stages. A whole range of initiative groups existed across the Federal Republic, addressing common issues, but viewing them in isolation of one another (Roth 1988:7). This changed during a second phase of development. Between 1973 and 1976 a consolidation of the citizens' initiative groups occurred against the background of growing disillusionment with the slow pace of reforms under the SPD-FDP government and a perceived worsening of the environmental crisis. At one level there was a thematic consolidation of the initiative groups, with the issues addressed by the groups being perceived within a broader context. With respect to environmental groups, for example, there was a heightened awareness of the global dimension of their locally based work. At a second level, there was an organisational consolidation of the citizens' initiative groups. Individual groups began to collaborate on

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specific topics on a regional and national basis. The *Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz*, for example, which was formed in 1972, brought together almost 1,000 individual initiative groups with almost 350,000 members between them in 1978 (Murphy 1979:53). The networking of the extra-parliamentary groups occurred primarily with regard to the mobilisation of protest against the construction of nuclear installations in several areas of West Germany, in particular in the localities of Whyll, Brokdorf, Gorleben and Grohnde (Mez 1987; Roth 1988:8f; Bolaffi and Kallscheuer 1983:66; Stöss 1987:292). The final phase of the progression from movement to party, as identified by Rucht (1980) began in 1977. Having established an organisational framework and identified the makings of a coherent ideology, it proved possible for various Green and Alternative lists to participate in elections to parliaments at all levels of the West German party system (Raschke 1979:164; also Hallensleben 1984:42f).

The shift towards electoral politics should not be perceived as an inevitable result of the organisational and thematic broadening of the new social movements in West Germany. The motives behind participation in elections were most varied and it was clear that not all movement activists supported the electoral approach (Stöss 1987:293). The wide variation between the development of ecological parties in each of the Federal Republic's regions is well documented (e.g. Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Mez and Wolter 1980; Hallensleben 1984). Despite the illusion, fostered by the Greens, that they represented the

parliamentary arm of the extra-parliamentary movement, it became evident that a number of previously unsuccessful political actors were instrumental behind the shift into the parliamentary arena (Brand 1982:191). Above all, members of unsuccessful marxist groupings and failed conservative politicians (Gruhl, Springmann, Haußleiter) acted as initiators in the formation of Green parties, seeking to benefit from the explosion of public interest in environmentalism (Klotzsch and Stöss 1986). Mez (1987) suggests that movement activists became motivated to follow the parliamentary approach primarily to safeguard their interests and to prevent opportunistic politicians from assuming the exclusive right to represent their cause.

The early electoral successes of the Greens have been well documented (Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Rönsch 1983; Murphy 1979; Kolinsky 1984:313f). In the context of this study, it is necessary to identify several key characteristics of the participation of ecological lists in local elections in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The factors to be addressed are the influence of electoral deadlines upon the candidature of Green lists, the political orientation and heterogeneity of the first lists and the often spectacular nature of their early electoral successes.

A prime motivating factor behind the ecologists' decision to compete for votes in West Germany's various regions was the timing of the relevant elections. The federal system ensures that different types of elections occur at different times in the component regions of West Germany. In this sense, therefore, it



was something of a coincidence that the first electoral successes of Green lists were registered in local elections. Local elections provide new political parties with the best opportunity of gaining early representation, given that in some regions there is no 5% hurdle (Lower Saxony and Bavaria), and that voters appear more willing to experiment with their vote in elections which are regarded as being of less importance than national or regional elections (Kuschke and Cryns 1984:88f). Despite the more accessible nature of local councils, no conscious decision was made to compete at this level of the party system first.

The first electoral successes of ecological lists in local elections in Lower Saxony (October 1977) and Schleswig-Holstein (March 1978) can be attributed partially to the coincidence of election timetables and partially to the existence in the relevant regions of powerful citizens' initiative groups (4). Hallensleben (1984:90) argues, for example, that the initial success of ecological lists in Schleswig-Holstein in 1978, encouraged the *Grüne Liste Umweltschutz* (GLU) in Lower Saxony to compete in the state's regional election of the same year. In other regions, given the pre-determined election dates, Greens stood first in regional or national elections (see Klotzsch and Stöss 1986:1513f for details; Grupp 1986:12f; Mez 1987). In the Rhineland Palatinate, other than the *Alternative Liste Trier*, no other Green group appears to have campaigned in the 1979 local elections. The first opportunity for the Greens to compete for votes in local elections in the Rhineland Palatinate on a widespread basis did not arise until the 1984 elections.

In this context, the role played by elections of all types in the organisational development of Green lists needs to be stressed. Just as the European Elections of 1979 acted as a focal point for the consolidation of a host of Green, Alternative and Rainbow groupings at national level (Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Murphy 1979; Wiesenthal 1985:150f) and were quickened by the prospect of the Federal Election of October 1980 (Bolaffi and Kallscheuer 1983), local elections forced a degree of discipline upon factions vying for influence over and control of new political groups. This in turn served to accelerate the unification process and encouraged compromise on divisive organisational and ideological questions.

A second feature of the initial development of the Greens was the wide programmatical and organisational diversity which characterised the various Green lists in the Federal Republic. At local level, the Greens spanned the whole political spectrum, from the communist inspired groups which emerged in certain urban areas (*Bunte Liste - Wehrt Euch* in Hamburg) to the rather conservative groups which developed in rural parts of West Germany (*GLU* in Lower Saxony) (see Abromeit 1985:183; Hallensleben 1984). The lack of uniformity was evident at an initial meeting of representatives from 48 different local Green and Alternative lists, held in Bielefeld in 1980 (Frankfurter Rundschau 18.11.80). Whilst it was possible for conflicting ideologies to co-exist successfully at local level, once the various groups sought to establish themselves as regional or national bodies, underlying tensions came to the surface (Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Weinberger 1984:103; Bolaffi and

Kallscheuer 1983:69f). The conflict which developed between the various factions, with each seeking to secure for themselves the best starting position in the foundation of a national party (Mez 1987:268), essentially persists within the West German Green Party today. At local level, however, the Greens remain, to a greater or lesser extent, a highly heterogeneous force (e.g. Wiesenthal 1985:151). Conservative and radical left-wing groups can still co-exist successfully, since their action radius is limited to a particular locality. The Green Party itself helped to maintain the diversity of the local groups by declining to compete against alternative groups in local elections. The Green Party has nevertheless been able to establish itself as the principal ecological and alternative force in West German local politics, despite the existence of a range of Green and Alternative groupings in the country's local communities. In many cases this has happened simply because the alternative groups disintegrated or because the members of these groups transferred their allegiance to the Green Party (5).

A third characteristic of the Greens' initial electoral involvement was the frequent competition at regional and national level of a range of Green groupings for votes. It should be stressed, however, that this was most obviously a feature at the regional level (e.g. Hamburg, Bremen and Hesse). At local level it has been relatively uncommon for ecological groups to compete with one another, given that there is rarely sufficient electoral support for more than one alternative group in a particular community (6). When alternative groups stood against official

Green Party lists in Lower Saxony's local elections of 1981, for example, they performed very badly (Rudnick and Goltermann 1981:59). This again imposes a degree of discipline upon potential competitors for the Green vote. Where lists purporting to be Green or Alternative have competed with one another in local elections in the second half of the 1980s, it has often been the case that only one of the opposing groups can claim to be truly Green or Alternative (7). A number of examples exist of radical right-wing and left-wing groups assuming the guise of ecological or alternative lists in order to stand against official Green groups. Although the bogus groups are rarely successful themselves, they can gain sufficient votes to deprive the Greens of council seats (8).

A final feature of the initial development of Green and Alternative lists in West German local politics was their often spectacular resonance amongst the local electorate. Two factors occurring independently of one another can be regarded as being responsible for such electoral success. The first was an expression of local protest against planning measures imposed upon the local community by either national or regional governments, against which the established local political parties were unable or unwilling to act. The second arises from the first ever presence in certain communities of an oppositional group in local politics, thereby allowing for an element of choice in local elections.

Where local citizens were protesting about specific planning measures in their region, oppositional ecological lists could

become a major element of the local party system. This is well illustrated in the Hessian local elections of 1981, which occurred against the backdrop of a proposed runway extension at Frankfurt airport (*Startbahn-West*) (see Ernst 1982; Nessel and Nowack 1982). In the Groß-Gerau district, which was most adversely affected by the development, Green lists gained seats in each of the communities in which they stood for election (9). In the towns of Büttelborn and Mörfelden-Walldorf ecologists gained 25.2% of the vote, winning 9 and 11 seats respectively. At the same time, North Hessian localities suggested as possible locations for a nuclear reprocessing plant recorded high levels of support for the Greens. In Breuna, in the Kassel district, the Greens secured 37.7% in the district elections. In Volkmarsen (Waldeck-Frankenberg district), the Green Party won 17.3% of the vote in the district elections, but a newly formed local voting group did even better in the local community elections, gaining 41.7% and thereby becoming the majority party in the local council (Hesse 1982). Similarly high levels of Green support were witnessed throughout the Federal Republic at the end of the 1970s (e.g. Kolinsky 1984:317; Pridham 1978; Müller 1979:150f).

The high level of support for ecological lists in these communities was motivated by opposition to large-scale projects imposed upon local citizens by higher levels of government (Brand 1982:181f). In other communities the factors underlying Green success are less obvious. Particularly in those small rural communities, characterised by the absence of any form of local

Table 3.1

Local election result, Isenburg (Neuwied district), Rhineland Palatinate, 17.06.84

Election type	Turnout	Party										Voting groups	All
		CDU		SPD		FDP		GREENS					
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	(n)	
Local council	71.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	163	41.3	232	58.7	395	
Community association	71.6	122	31.4	108	27.8	5	1.3	104	26.8	49	12.6	388	
District council	71.2	158	40.8	143	37.0	7	1.8	61	15.8	18	4.7	387	

Note: local council = Gemeinderat

community association = Verbandsgemeinderat

district council = Kreistag

Source: Rhineland Palatinate (1985:105)

opposition, the candidature of a Green list can offer citizens an element of choice in a local election for the first time. As a result, the Greens can sometimes secure a large proportion of the vote. This was the case in the 1984 local elections in the Rhineland Palatinate, for example, when the Green Party stood for the first time in the community of Isenburg, in the Neuwied district. The Greens won 41.3% of the vote and 4 of the 11 seats in the local council (Table 3.1). A closer analysis of the electoral statistics illustrates the fact that this represented more a protest about the absence of choice in the local council election than an expression of positive support for the Greens and their programme. Whilst 163 voters supported the Greens in the local council election, 104 did so in the election to the community association (*Verbandsgemeinderat*) and only 61 voted Green in the district council election which took place concurrently. In the latter two elections, voters could choose

between each of the main political parties of the Federal Republic as well as local voting groups.

The diverse nature of the Greens' early electoral successes meant that it was often difficult for analysts to classify the Greens in the early stages of their parliamentary activities (see Klotzsch and Stöss 1986; Rönsch 1980:420f). Over time, however, the Greens have tended to become an increasingly distinctive force in West German local politics. Green local politics has become more homogenised, with local independent and alternative ecological lists gradually giving way in local elections to official Green Party lists with their greater organisational and financial power. This in turn bolsters the trend towards uniformity in the nature and style of Green local politics (see section 3.4). Furthermore, having been identified as a radical left-wing party by both the general electorate and their supporters alike, it is more difficult for the Green Party to secure the votes of a wide cross-section of the local population, even in areas in which planning measures threaten the local environment. As a result, spectacular electoral successes are less common than was once the case for Green and Alternative groups. Instead, the Greens are increasingly reliant upon a stable, core electorate (see section 3.3). Before identifying this electorate more precisely, however, it is necessary to establish a picture of the extent of Green local council representation in the Federal Republic.

### 3.2 The scale of Green representation at local level

The scale of Green representation at the national and regional levels can be assessed simply by examining official electoral statistics. However, this is not the case for Green local council representation. Before addressing some of the difficulties associated with making such a calculation, it is necessary to provide an indication of the speed with which the Greens have progressed from being an extra-parliamentary to a parliamentary force. For reasons which will become apparent in the discussion of the current extent of representation, the level of Green and Alternative representation in West Germany's towns and cities with populations of more than 20,000 will be used as a guide (Table 3.2).

In 1981 only 1.4% of all council seats (297 of 21,719) in the communities of the relevant sizes in West Germany were held by official Green Party representatives and those of various alternative lists. By 1986 this figure had increased fivefold to some 7% (1,512 of 21,690 seats). The most dramatic increase in Green representation occurred between 1984 and 1986, with local elections taking place in each of the regions of the Federal Republic.

Given the rapid pace of the movement of the Greens into the country's parliaments, it is apparent that the potential repercussions for the party's organisation were not adequately considered during this period by the Greens (see below). With regard to the level of representation in towns of different size categories, a clear pattern can be discerned in 1986. Although



Table 3.2

Council seats held by Greens in communities with populations of over 20 000,  
West Germany, 1981-1986

Population size of community	1981			1983			1986		
	Green Party	Green lists	All Greens	Green Party	Green lists	All Greens	Green Party	Green lists	All Greens
1 000 000 and more									
No. of seats	9	-	9	17	-	17	6	28	34
% of all seats	2.7	-	2.7	5.1	-	5.1	1.7	8.1	9.8
500 000 - 1 000 000									
No. of seats	13	4	17	13	4	17	56	12	68
% of all seats	1.8	0.6	2.4	1.8	0.6	2.4	7.8	1.7	9.5
200 000 - 500 000									
No. of seats	5	10	15	7	12	19	88	21	109
% of all seats	0.4	0.8	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.6	7.4	1.8	9.2
100 000 - 200 000									
No. of seats	29	11	40	29	12	41	151	17	168
% of all seats	1.5	0.6	2.1	1.5	0.6	2.1	8.2	0.9	9.1
50 000 - 100 000									
No. of seats	31	23	54	32	23	55	244	56	300
% of all seats	0.7	0.5	1.2	0.8	0.6	1.4	5.9	1.4	7.3
20 000 - 50 000 (*)									
No. of seats	104	58	162	42	29	71	692	141	833
% of all seats	0.8	0.4	1.2	0.7	0.5	1.2	5.1	1.0	6.1
All sizes									
No. of seats	191	106	297	140	80	220	1 236	275	1 512
% of all seats	0.9	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.6	1.6	5.7	1.3	7.0

Note: (\*) 1983: communities of 30 000 - 50 000 inhabitants

Source: compiled by author from

Der Städtetag 35, No. 6, 1982:429

Der Städtetag 36, No. 6, 1983:463

Der Städtetag 40, No. 6, 1987:369

traditionally stronger in the larger towns and cities, by 1986 the proportion of council seats held by the Greens rose progressively through the various size categories, from 6.1% of

seats in the 20-50,000 group to 9.8% in the three West German cities with populations of more than one million (Berlin, Hamburg and Munich) (10). Also of note in this context is the level of female representation by the Greens. Whilst the three major political parties had a relatively low proportion of women councillors, 30% of official Green Party representatives in 1986 were women (Der Städtetag 1986:369) (11).

Having shown the rapid pace of the parliamentarisation of the Greens, it should be noted that it is much more difficult to establish the scale of Green representation in all local communities in the Federal Republic. Estimates of the strength of Green local council representation are vague, although Roth's (1988) figure of some 6,000 representatives seems plausible. The two main factors which influence such a calculation are the definition of Green groups adopted and the type of local council covered. Whereas the Greens will tend to exaggerate their level of local council representation, it is common for electoral statistics to underestimate their strength.

Most official statistical sources publish only the local election results attributed to the official Green Party. This leads invariably to an understatement of Green strength, since those ecological and alternative electoral lists which compete independently of the Green Party are ignored. As has been stated, the Green Party rarely stands for election in localities in which established alternative groupings have declared an interest in competing for votes. In certain regions (especially Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria) alternative lists are of

particular significance, having a tradition which precedes by a number of years the emergence of the Green Party. Whilst it is reasonably simple to identify the strength of the official Green Party, it is extremely difficult to establish the scale of representation of the alternative groupings. It is normal for official statistics to assign the share of the vote gained by alternative groups to that of the independent voting groups (*Wählervereinigungen*), which predominate at local level in a number of regions (see Chapter 2). Given the strength of these independent groups it is seldom possible for electoral offices to provide details of their composition (12). Even when statistical offices attempt to identify unofficial Green lists separately, it is evident that the full Green spectrum is not covered (13).

A second difficulty regarding the calculation of the scale of the Greens' local council representation arises from the disparate nature of the administrative structure of West German local government. The regions have varying types of local councils with differing levels of responsibility. It is necessary, therefore, to define clearly for this study what is to be regarded as local council representation. This can only be done on the basis of councils which are common to all of the regions of the Federal Republic.

All West German regions have councils which represent three distinctive administrative districts (see section 2.2.1. for more detail). The smallest administrative unit is the community (*Gemeinde*), which can fall into one of two categories. The great majority of *Gemeinden* are small communities falling under the

jurisdiction of district administrations (*kreisangehörige Gemeinden*). Whilst these communities fulfil certain duties, the district (*Kreis*) takes responsibility for a large number of tasks which are beyond the financial scope of most *Gemeinden*. A number of *Gemeinden*, most notably the large towns and cities (*kreisfreie Städte*) of the Federal Republic, have independent powers, fulfilling within their own area all the tasks assigned to both the *Gemeinde* and the district. Given this range of administrative units, it is possible to define electoral strength in terms of a combination of administrative areas. It is most common to treat the larger units of local government (the districts and independent towns) separately from the smaller units (the communities) (14). Generally, information pertaining to city and district elections is the most reliable, since the number of administrative units involved is relatively small. In the Rhineland Palatinate, for example, there are only 12 independent towns and 24 districts, as opposed to almost 2,300 communities (Rhineland Palatinate 1985). It should be recognised, therefore, that it is easier to establish the strength of non-party Green lists in the independent towns and districts than in the *Gemeinden*.

Problems arise when one addresses the level of Green representation in a range of additional councils in the Federal Republic of varying levels of importance. Such councils essentially fall into one of three types: neighbourhood councils, community association councils and supra-local councils.

The most widespread supplementary council is the neighbourhood council (15), set up in the larger towns and cities of the

Federal Republic in the wake of the administrative reforms of the late 1960s and 1970s. Although limited in their competences by the financial restrictions imposed upon them, the neighbourhood councils are elected bodies in their own right. Indeed, neighbourhood councils in certain cities will have greater financial powers and represent significantly more people than some of the smaller rural communities. As yet, however, this level of local government is neglected in official election statistics and it is not even clear how many neighbourhood councils exist in West Germany. Estimates of party strength at this level of local government are bound to be unreliable. Nevertheless, the fact should not be overlooked that the Greens are widely represented in neighbourhood councils and that a significant proportion of their time and resources are devoted to this level of government (16).

A second type of council, which only exists in the Rhineland Palatinate and Lower Saxony, represents associations of small communities (17). These councils achieve a compromise between the need for larger planning units and the desire of citizens to maintain a degree of control over local policy making. Whilst the Greens are liable to be absent from the councils of the administrative units which comprise the community association, it is relatively common for them to have representation in the council of the association (18).

Finally, supra-local bodies should be taken into account. These are planning bodies of various types, assigned the task of coordinating specific duties which the individual component

communities are unable to perform themselves. Communities belonging to the supra-local bodies can be, and often are, quite large urban units of government. This factor distinguishes them from the community associations, made up of small, rural communities. The supra-local bodies can be elected either directly by the voters or indirectly on the basis of an aggregation of the election results in their member constituencies. Examples of supra-local councils are to be found in the *Umlandverband Frankfurt*, the *Bezirkstag Pfalz* of the Rhineland Palatinate and the two *Landschaftsversammlungen* of North Rhine Westphalia. Green representation in these bodies can be significant (19). In Bavaria the *Bezirkstage* would also fall into this category, despite the fact that they are elected concurrently with the regional parliament (Bockelt 1989).

As a result of the widespread regional variations in the presence and function of the supplementary councils, the most meaningful calculation of the extent of Green local council strength must therefore take account only of those Greens elected to the councils of the three administrative units common to all regions of West Germany: communities, districts and independent towns. At the same time it should be recognised that the inadequacies of the statistical sources allow at best only an estimation of the level of local council representation of Green Party and alternative lists in the Federal Republic. This information is presented in Table 3.3 below for 1986, thereby taking account of local elections occurring in each region of the Federal Republic between 1984 and 1986.

Table 3.3

## Green local council representation, West Germany, 1986

Region	Date of election	City/District elections		Community elections		Total seats
		%	seats	%	seats	
Baden-Württemberg	28.10.84					
Green Party		8.9	193	5.0	474	667
Green lists		0.2	4	2.2	217	221
All Greens		9.1	197	7.2	691	888
Bavaria	18.03.84					
Green Party		3.6	138	0.9	91	229
Green lists		0.7	41	0.3	28	69
All Greens		4.3	179	1.2	119	298
Hesse	10.03.85					
Green Party		7.1	129	4.0	400	529
Green lists		-	-	1.3	131	131
All Greens		7.1	129	5.3	531	660
Lower Saxony	05.10.86					
Green Party		5.4	115	3.6	288	403
Green lists		0.9	9	NA	NA	9
All Greens		6.3	124	3.6	288	412
North Rhine Westphalia	30.9.84					
Green Party		8.2	273	6.4	694	967
Green lists		1.1	43	0.6	68	111
All Greens		9.3	316	7.0	762	1078
Rhineland Palatinate	17.06.84					
Green Party		5.4	73	1.2	73	146
Green lists		0.2	5	0.1	13	18
All Greens		5.6	78	1.3	86	164
Saarland	17.06.84					
Green Party		5.3	9	4.1	52	61
Green lists		-	-	-	-	-
All Greens		5.3	9	4.1	52	61
Schleswig-Holstein	02.03.86					
Green Party		7.4	45	0.8	103	148
Green lists		-	-	NA	NA	NA
All Greens		7.4	45	0.8	103	148
West Germany						
Green Party		-	975	-	2175	3150
Green lists		-	102	-	457	559
All Greens		-	1077	-	2632	3709

Sources and notes: see footnote 20

NA=Not Available

In December 1986 there were at least 3,700 Green and Alternative local councillors in West Germany. Given the difficulties outlined above, this is likely to be rather a conservative estimation of the Greens' local representation. Attention should also be paid in particular to the missing data from Lower Saxony. The 1981 local elections in this region provided Green and alternative lists with an estimated 2,000 local councillors (Frankfurter Rundschau 29.08.81; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 29.08.81). It is, therefore, to be anticipated that a slightly higher number of mandates will have been gained in 1986. This would bring us closer to Roth's (1988) estimation of 6,000 Green local politicians.

There is a large difference between the level of Green support at the city/district level and that at community level. This is largely a reflection of the weak organisational structure of the Greens at the lowest level of the West German party system. The Greens, like other parties, are not in a position to be able to stand in all communities in a particular region. In the Rhineland Palatinate, as already indicated, there are over 2,000 local councils for which parties would need to put up lists. It is clearly beyond the organisational capacity of any party to campaign in each and every locality (21). The percentage figures given in Table 3.3 refer to the vote gained by Green groups across the whole of the relevant region and therefore include communities in which Greens did not put up candidates.

The Greens are noticeably more widely represented in certain regions than in others. In Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine



Westphalia, for example, the Green performed well in both the city/district elections and in elections to local communities. In Bavaria, the Rhineland Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein, however, Green representation at communal level is extremely low.

The figures presented in Table 3.3 serve to illustrate the degree to which the Greens are now primarily a parliamentary party. Whether by default or design, it is apparent that the orientation of the Greens towards electoral politics now overrides any earlier preference for extra-parliamentary forms of politics. In certain regions the imbalance between party and parliamentary group is particularly stark. In Hesse, for example, it has been estimated that at least one in 8 Green Party members were involved directly in local political activity in 1987 (Scharf 1989:173), whilst in Schleswig-Holstein 150 of the party's estimated 1700 members held council office in 1986 (Schomaker 1986:26). The 1984 local elections led to the election of one in five of all Green Party members in North Rhine Westphalia, which Wiesenthal (1985:154) suggests as one of the main causes of the party's poor showing in the state's regional election of the following year. When other parliamentary activities are taken into consideration, such as representation on neighbourhood councils, membership of council executive bodies and the large number of personnel required for administrative tasks, it becomes apparent that the active core of the Green Party is primarily engaged in local council activities.

The political repercussions of the parliamentarisation of the

Greens will be discussed in more detail with regard to the organisational structures adopted by the Greens at local level (section 3.6). In this context, it must be stressed that the integration of the Greens has occurred less at the national or regional level than at local level. This fact has a number of implications for the future development of the Greens, given the nature of local political activity in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Having examined the scale of representation of the Greens in West Germany's local councils, it is now necessary to briefly identify the Green electorate at local level.

### 3.3 Green electorate at local level

The question which arises is whether the Green electorate at local level is essentially the same as that at national and regional level. In the absence of detailed studies of Green local electoral behaviour (see Schacht 1985), this issue is to be addressed on the basis of data provided by the statistical offices of a number of West German towns and cities.

Despite differences in terminology, commentators have increasingly tended to agree that the core Green electorate lies within the young, often highly educated members of the new middle class (Mez and Wolter 1980; Rönsch 1983; Bürklin 1981; Kolinsky 1984:313f; Müller 1979; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986:1572f; Veen 1984; Veen 1987; ÖSS 1988; Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1990; Fogt and Uttitz 1984; Müller-Rommel 1983a; Schultze 1980). This is the New Politics electorate, described in detail in Chapter 2 (see

Baker et al 1981; Bürklin 1984), which tends to be concentrated in the urban areas of West Germany which have benefited most from the process of social and economic modernisation. It has variously been estimated that the stable core of Green Party support in the Federal Republic currently represents between 2-3% (ÖSS 1988:3) and 5-6% of the electorate (Veen 1987:67). As previously stated, the proportion of Green Party support coming from protest voters has progressively declined over the years, as the party's ideological profile has become more focused. The notion that both conservative farmers in rural areas of Lower Saxony and radical left-wingers in its university towns could vote for the same political force should be consigned to the past. Veen suggests that the protest element represents at most one third of Green support (Veen 1989:36).

The data presented in the official publications of the various city statistical offices allow conclusions to be drawn about the age and sex structure of the Green electorate, as well as about the characteristics of the areas in which the party performs best (22). Given the varying scope of the local statistics, some more interesting features of local Green support can also be addressed. Whether or not it is possible to generalise on the basis of this data is open to question.

Not surprisingly, the Greens' electorate at local level is much younger than that of the established political parties in the Federal Republic. Representative electoral statistics from most local communities illustrate this point (e.g. Krefeld 1984:12; Bonn 1985:75; Leverkusen 1985; Frankfurt 1985). Table 3.4 below

presents data from the 1984 local election in Duisburg. Whilst there is no clear relationship between age groups and support for the SPD, CDU or FDP, the level of support for the Greens falls progressively as the age groups become more elderly. In the two youngest age groups, the Greens were more popular than the CDU.

Table 3.4

Party support by age groups, local election, Duisburg, 1984

Age group	SPD	CDU	GREENS	FDP	Others
18-24	55.1	20.8	21.2	2.2	0.7
25-34	58.8	18.2	20.6	2.1	0.3
35-44	55.7	32.3	8.5	2.4	1.1
45-59	60.7	29.9	5.3	3.0	1.1
60 and above	56.7	36.3	2.9	2.9	1.2
All ages	57.9	30.0	8.6	2.7	0.8

Source: Duisburg 1984:20, Table 3

The imbalance of Green electoral support in the younger age cohorts, is well illustrated when the local election result in Darmstadt in 1985 is broken down according to the age structure of the individual parties' supporters (Table 3.5). Almost two thirds of Green voters (64.7%) were younger than 35, compared with only 24.9% of all Darmstadt voters. In contrast, only 6.2% of Green voters were aged 60 or more; a figure substantially lower than the proportion of elderly voters in the electorate as a whole or in the electorate of the other political parties.

Table 3.5

## Age structure of party support in Darmstadt, 1985

Age group	SPD	CDU	FDP	GREENS	All voters
18-24	9.0	6.3	6.4	19.2	9.3
25-34	13.4	8.8	10.4	45.5	15.6
35-44	13.4	11.0	14.9	19.0	13.8
45-59	27.3	28.2	26.7	10.0	27.3
60 and above	36.9	45.6	41.7	6.2	36.9
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Darmstadt 1985:77

Ecological analyses of local election data show that the Greens generally perform well where there is a concentration of younger voters (Wiesbaden 1983) (23). In Frankfurt's electoral wards in which the proportion of young residents exceeds 30%, the Green Party won 16.6% of the vote in the 1985 local election. This contrasts markedly with the 5.8% of the vote gained by the Greens in wards with less than 20% of young residents and the party's vote for the city as a whole of 7.9% (Frankfurt 1986:19; also Cologne 1984).

Table 3.6

## Green local electoral support by age groups, Kiel

Age group	1982	1986	Change
18-24	19.0	22.9	3.9
25-34	16.2	24.1	7.9
35-44	4.6	10.4	5.8
45-59	3.0	4.5	1.5
60 and above	0.6	1.9	1.3
All ages	5.4	9.1	3.7

Source: based on Kiel 1987: 21, Table 6a

Over time, whilst the growth of support for the Greens in the youngest age group has tended to stagnate, the party has substantially increased its support in all but the eldest age groups (see Bick 1985a; ÖSS 1988:8). In Kiel, for example, the most significant increase in support for the Greens between the two local elections of 1982 and 1986 occurred in the 25-34 and 34-44 age groups (Table 3.6). In Oberhausen, 41.4% of Green Party voters in the 1979 local election were younger than 25. By 1984 the proportion of supporters of the Oberhausen *Bunte Liste* - which succeeded the Greens - in the 18-24 age group had fallen to 26.7% (Oberhausen 1985a:8).

The cases of Kiel and Oberhausen point clearly towards the influence of generation upon support for the Greens. As the younger generations which supported the Greens in the late 1970s and early 1980s are ageing, so the level of Green Party support in the older age groups increases. Holtz (1985) has attempted to show the impact of generational change upon support for political parties in local and regional elections in the case of Münster (Table 3.7).

Although the data on which the Table 3.7 is based have their inadequacies (Holtz 1985:134f), it is apparent that the most significant changes in party preference across generations have occurred in the youngest of the post-war generations - those with an average birth year of 1954. It is amongst this generation that the Greens have performed best in Münster. In the 1984 local election, 36.4% of the 25-34 age group voted for the Green *Alternative List (GAL)* in Münster, more than supports any other

party.

Table 3.7

Local elections 1979 and 1984 in Münster:  
Party preference by generational groups

Average year of birth	Age group	Election year	CDU	SPD	FDP	GAL
1954	22-28	1979	33.0	39.8	6.4	19.6
	25-34	1984	24.4	31.7	6.1	36.4
1945	29-38	1979	41.3	41.0	8.0	8.3
	35-44	1984	45.6	32.6	8.1	13.5
1935	39-48	1979	53.8	35.7	7.8	2.0
	45-59	1984	55.1	30.1	9.4	5.1
1915	49-63	1979	60.4	31.0	6.7	1.6
	60+	1984	60.3	30.7	6.2	2.6
All		1979	52.2	34.4	6.8	6.0
		1984	46.1	31.4	6.6	15.5

Note: GAL = Grün-Alternative Liste

Source: Holtz 1985:143, Table 5

A further interesting finding of the representative electoral statistics supports evidence from national and regional samples that there is a preponderance of men within the Green electorate (see Veen 1987:76; ÖSS 1988:11; Kolinsky 1988; Langguth 1984:39). At local level the difference between the male and female vote for the Greens is commonly around 2% (e.g. Krefeld 1984; Bonn 1985:76; Frankfurt 1985). Whilst the over-representation of men was once the case for all age groups, more recent data show that more women than men in the 18-24 age group now support the Greens in local elections (Leverkusen 1985:5; Frankfurt 1985:9).

The nature of local electoral statistics allow no direct conclusions to be drawn about the links between educational status and party preference in local elections. Even though it is possible to address this issue indirectly by assuming a link between educational status and social class, the nature of electoral data is such that at best use can be made of ecological analyses. Such forms of analysis utilise varying types of social structural data to classify small administrative units (usually electoral wards) into specific categories (Troitzsch 1976; Engel 1984). It should be stressed, however, that this type of analysis allows conclusions to be drawn about the social characteristics of an area in which a party performs well or badly, but not about individual level voting behaviour.

A study which divided the area of the Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet (1985) into 6 distinct regional types clearly indicates a concentration of Green support in the urban, middle class areas (Table 3.8). Whereas only 6.6% of voters in rural areas with a high proportion of catholic inhabitants supported the Greens, in those urban areas characterised by a high level of middle class voters the Greens gained 10.8% of the vote. In Oberhausen, a differentiation between predominantly working class and middle class districts, showed that the gains of the Bunte Liste between the local elections of 1984 and 1979 were concentrated in the second category (Oberhausen 1985b:6).



Table 3.8

Party support by regional types, local election 1984,  
in area of Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet

Regional type	Turnout	SPD	CDU	FDP	GREENS
Urban					
working class	60.3	60.1	27.7	1.9	8.2
mixed	63.8	53.7	32.1	2.7	9.4
middle class	65.7	47.1	37.7	3.5	10.8
Rural					
catholic	71.7	32.4	52.8	5.2	6.6
mixed	70.8	46.3	37.8	5.0	7.4
mining/ and industry	68.3	53.7	33.2	3.5	7.2
Ruhrgebiet	63.6	53.2	33.1	3.0	9.3

Source: Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet 1985:30

Table 3.9

Party preference and social status in Duisburg,  
local election 1984

Area type	SPD	CDU	FDP	GREENS
Proportion of blue collar workers				
low (<49%)	52.1	34.5	6.1	9.6
average	56.6	31.2	5.9	8.7
high (>58%)	65.5	24.1	3.9	7.3
Proportion of white collar workers				
low (<12.5%)	64.5	24.8	2.1	7.3
average	57.8	30.6	2.7	8.1
high (>18.8%)	51.4	34.7	3.1	10.1
Duisburg	57.9	30.0	2.7	8.6

Source: based on Duisburg 1985:61, Table 24

An analysis of the 1984 local election result in Duisburg  
illustrated a similar pattern of support for the Greens (Duisburg

1985:60f). In districts with a high proportion of working class inhabitants the Greens performed less well than in those in which members of the new middle class (white collar employees) were concentrated (Table 3.9).

The data presented in Table 3.9 illustrate clearly that Green voters in Duisburg are more likely to be found in areas with above average levels of support for both the CDU and FDP than in districts with high levels of support for the SPD. In one SPD stronghold in Lower Saxony, Salzgitter, the Greens were unable to increase their overall share of the vote between the local elections of 1981 and 1986, despite the general trend in their favour (Salzgitter 1987).

Over time, the Green Party has tended to perform least well in the socially deprived urban strongholds of the SPD, with high proportions of working class inhabitants. This is a feature which is backed up by a number of other ecological analyses of local election data in West Germany (e.g. Wiesbaden 1983 and 1984; Neuss 1984:29). In Frankfurt, the Green Party failed in 1985 to improve on the 3.9% of the vote won in wards classed as SPD strongholds on the basis of 1981 local election results (Table 3.10). In wards with changing or CDU majorities, the Greens gained almost 9% of the vote (Frankfurt 1986:19). Similar findings stem from the electoral data collated by the Ausschluß Wahlforschung (1984) (see also Krefeld 1984:31; Munich 1984:108).

Table 3.10

Green support in party strongholds,  
local elections 1981-1985, Frankfurt

Party stronghold	No. of wards	Green vote 1985	Green vote 1981	Change 1985-1981
SPD stronghold	17	3.9	3.9	0.0
SPD majority	99	6.5	5.4	1.1
Changing majority	143	8.8	6.8	2.0
CDU majority	152	8.9	7.0	1.9
CDU stronghold	53	6.5	6.2	0.3
Frankfurt	464	7.9	6.4	1.5

Source: extracted from Frankfurt 1986:19

Obviously, factors such as housing costs can also play an important role in locating Green support. Given the relative youthfulness of the Green electorate and the fact that many Green voters are not yet in full-time employment, it is inevitable that they will occupy poorer quality housing stock, traditionally found in the inner cities (e.g. Wiesbaden 1983). This shows up in the commonly found link between Green support in electoral ward categories and the proportion of immigrants living in those areas (e.g. Cologne 1984).

On the basis of local election statistics, it is possible to establish a partial picture of the structure of the Green electorate and of the social environment in which Green voters live. Given that local electoral behaviour is generally regarded as being largely similar to that at regional and national elections (Hermann and Werle 1983; Kevenhörster 1983), it can be

assumed that the Green electorate differs only slightly from one type of election to another. The early successes of ecological lists, which could gain the support of a broad cross-section of the local population have rarely been repeated in the 1980s. Instead, it has been the young members of the new middle class, living in relatively affluent parts of the Federal Republic's cities who are most prone to voting Green.

The locally based evidence tends to support the notion of the existence of a specific, relatively stable Green/Alternative milieu in the Federal Republic's urban areas, noted by Müller as long ago as 1979 (Müller 1979:146) and developed further by Veen (1986 and 1989; see also Schacht 1987 for Frankfurt; Roth 1988:12). When one considers the contrasting social environments from which the Greens and SPD recruit their support, it is difficult to imagine how the SPD will achieve their aim of regaining voters lost to the Greens in local elections since the late 1970s (see Güllner and Löffler 1981; Klein and Clauditz 1983; Klein and Kirchner 1983).

Having established a picture of the level of representation of the Greens in West German local politics and of the nature of their local level electorate, it is now necessary to address the two important areas of Green ideology and organisation at local level. These areas will provide the basis for the construction of the hypotheses to be tested in the case study sections which follow.

### 3.4 The disappearing consensus: Green ideology and the Old Local Politics

Given the heterogeneous origins of the Greens and the sheer multiplicity of Green and Alternative lists at local level in West Germany, it might appear at first inappropriate to talk in terms of a Green local political "ideology". On the one hand, this would imply a certain degree of uniformity in the type of issues addressed by the Greens in local politics. On the other, it would run counter to the historical interpretation of the role of local politics in the Federal Republic, which treats this area of government as being essentially non-ideological (see Chapter 2). The purpose of this section is, firstly, to demonstrate that there is indeed a distinctive Green local political ideology and, secondly, to identify potential sources of conflict which might result from the Greens' attempts to introduce their ideology into the local arena. The Greens' distinctive approach to local politics is reflected not only in the New Politics issues raised by them at local level (section 3.4.1.), but also in the manner in which they seek to participate in the Federal Republic's local party systems (section 3.4.2.).

The analysis of the main characteristics of Green local politics will give rise to a number of hypotheses regarding aspects of local political change in the Federal Republic. These will then be addressed in detail in the case study sections to follow.

Before identifying the principal features of Green local politics in West Germany, it is necessary to comment briefly upon the nature of relevant information sources. For the purposes of this

study, several sources will be used. However, an overriding difficulty stems from the absence of objective analyses of Green involvement at local level (Werle 1981 and Roth 1988 are exceptions). Whilst the reports of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Schuster et al 1985; Kanitz 1988) and Swatzina (1987) are useful, they certainly can not be termed objective. This also applies to the vast array of material produced by Green council groups or other individuals closely linked to Green local politics (e.g. Schiller-Dickhut et al 1981; Rohr and Hau 1985; Rehrmann 1985). Despite the fact that the Greens are often very open about their political weaknesses, such publications will be utilised in this section simply because alternative sources are not available. In doing so, it is also necessary to point out an additional problem stemming from the inevitable tendency to concentrate upon certain types of local Green party. In particular, the Greens in urban areas make use of good resourcing levels to publicise their council-based activities, whilst the majority of Green groups operating in small towns or in rural areas tend to remain anonymous. A failure to differentiate between Greens active in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas can create misleading impressions about the nature of Green local politics. This fundamental problem can only be adequately addressed by a wider use of the case study technique.

The most comprehensive source of information on West German Green and Alternative local politics, the periodical *Alternative Kommunalpolitik* (AKP), has attempted to address the urban-rural divide in a number of special features devoted to Green politics in the countryside (especially AKP 3/86). This publication,

produced in Bielefeld on a regular basis since 1979, has occupied a major role in the formulation by the Greens of a coherent strategy at local level, furthering inner-party debate on key policy areas (see Pohl et al 1985).

It is not within the scope of this study to enter into great detail about all individual aspects of Green local policies. The function of this section is, on the basis of the limited source documentation, to establish a broad picture of Green local ideology. A case study approach will then allow for the more objective analysis of Green local politics in practice.

#### 3.4.1. Green local ideology: the New Local Politics in practice

The Greens' approach to local politics is best summed up in the slogan "*global denken, vor Ort handeln*". The concept of thinking globally and acting locally motivated sections of the New Social Movements to enter into parliamentary politics in the first place (see Brand 1982:181f; Mez 1987; Rucht 1980). It forms the basis for the Greens' highly ideological approach to local politics in the Federal Republic, providing a justification for the introduction of new issues and new styles of politics into the local arena. The New Politics approach corresponds to more than simply the treatment of new issues, such as ecology and the rights of social minority groups, in the local arena. Also relevant are the manner in which the issues are addressed by the Greens.

In general, the Greens aim to avoid the highly compartmentalised way of thinking which has dominated West German local

policy-making in the post-war period. Instead they seek to transgress the narrow confines of arbitrarily placed administrative boundaries by emphasising the interconnection of local, regional, national and international issues (Spretnak and Capra 1984:28f; Maren-Grisebach 1982). In the local context, therefore, when "global" issues are mentioned, all issues of relevance beyond the boundaries of the relevant local council are included. The interconnection between local and global (supra-local) issues can be demonstrated in two ways at local level. Firstly, local issues can simply be perceived as being the effect of a more universal phenomenon. Secondly, global issues of no immediate local relevance can be transported into the local context under a real or contrived pretext. Examples of both forms of global issue can be illustrated in terms of actual Green behaviour in West German local councils.

A wide range of local issues have the potential to be regarded as having a "global" dimension. This applies most obviously to the area of environmental policy. One needs only consider the powers of West German local authorities in the fields of energy policy, transport policy and waste management to recognise the potential for the Greens to introduce proposals. The areas of social policy and town planning can also have a strong supra-local focus, given the increasingly complex nature of the links between international (European Community), national, regional and local laws and statutes. By exploiting the established powers of local authorities alone, the Greens are able to introduce proposals, which they hope will assuage the immediate, local repercussions of problems which essentially lie beyond the scope of local



government and thereby play some part in solving the global problem (e.g. *Marburg 1985:7*). This applies, for example, to the major environmental problems of acid rain and ozone depletion. Despite the fact that solutions to these global questions can only be provided by concerted long-term action in the international arena, the Greens feel that limited measures taken at local level are necessary in the short-term. In this context, Green groups have proposed a host of measures to cut down on the localised production of the harmful emissions which create acid rain and which lead to a depletion of the ozone layer. Amongst the many measures suggested have been the following:

a) the fitting of filtration systems to locally-owned power stations, to reduce the output of carbon dioxide (the major cause of ozone depletion) and sulphur dioxide (one of the sources of acid rain) (*Leverkusen 1988:7; Munich 1984:4; Kassel 1985:19*).

b) energy saving devices to reduce demand for electricity, increase energy efficiency and thereby reduce emissions (*Leverkusen 1988:6*). The Kassel Greens suggested that a 30% energy saving was possible between 1985 and the turn of the century (*Kassel 1985:19*). In the local context this can entail anything from improved insulation of official buildings and the use of alternative sources of energy to the construction of new, energy-efficient heat and light power stations and price increases for large electricity users (industry).

c) greater emphasis on public transport, to reduce the level of emissions from cars. This is variously to be achieved by reducing

public transport fares (e.g. *Dortmund 1987:22*), by instituting a park and ride system of the edge of the city centre (e.g. *Marburg 1985*), by lowering speed limits in built-up areas (e.g. *Wiesbaden 1985:17*). The aim of such measures is to make car usage in built-up areas unattractive, which in turn has great repercussions in the planning policy field (lower demand for new roads, car parking facilities etc.)

This brief catalogue of proposals serves to exemplify the first manner in which the Greens think globally and act locally. The second way in which the Greens transgress the narrow confines of local government is to raise international issues directly at local level.

If this is done without any attempt to disguise the issue in a form which would make it acceptable to the local context, the chances of failure are high. Instead, Greens tend to adopt a more sophisticated approach, by establishing a definite, if sometimes contrived, local context, against which the international issue can at least be discussed in a council session (see Kanitz 1988:41). This approach can be exemplified in terms of two specific topics which have given rise to much local council debate in the Federal Republic in the 1980s. These are the questions of nuclear-free zones and local partnerships.

a) The concept of the nuclear-free zone became the focal point for wide debate in local councils in the early 1980s as a result of the NATO twin-track decision of 1979 which sought to deploy new strategic nuclear weapons on West German soil. One of the first examples of such an initiative succeeding was in the

Groß-Gerau district of Hesse, where an SPD-Green alliance operated between 1981 and 1985 (Kommunalpolitische Blätter 5/1983:381f). On this specific policy area, the Greens could often rely on the more measured support of some left-wing SPD party organisations. Whilst the issue of nuclear-free zones tended to represent a one-off for the SPD, often keen to reach back to the party's opposition to rearmament in the 1950s, for the Greens the nuclear-free zone merely represented one element of a much wider attempt to debate issues of world peace in local councils. The aim is summed up in the electoral programme of the Greens in the Munich district in 1984:

Unser Ziel ist eine Bewußtseinsänderung des Bürgers, um zu einer friedlichen Gesellschaft zu gelangen (Munich 1984:26).

In aiming to heighten public awareness of military issues, questions arising from military manoeuvres and low-flying aircraft are commonly raised. Between 1981 and 1984 the Frankfurt Green Party introduced 10 motions relating to peace issues, covering the topics of nuclear-free zones, local (US) military installations, US troop manoeuvres and the civil rights of conscientious objectors (Römerfraktion 1984). In Paderborn, the Greens even sent a resolution to the British Queen, demanding that low flying by RAF aircraft be stopped. Even the naming of warships after towns and cities has become a contentious issue in West German local politics since the arrival of the Greens in local council chambers (e.g. Paderborn 1988; Cologne 1989:3).

b) A particularly controversial issue in West German local politics of recent years has been the question of town

partnerships. Traditionally such partnerships have been regarded as means of rebuilding bridges destroyed during two world wars. The Greens treat this established area of local politics in a less conventional manner, seeking to exploit town partnerships as a means of drawing attention to regional conflicts and of expressing solidarity with "oppressed" peoples in the developing world. This applies in particular to links between West German and Nicaraguan towns and regions. Links have been sought by Greens in most communities (e.g. Nuremberg, Wiesbaden, Munich, Bielefeld, Frankfurt and Bonn) (see *Nuremberg* 1985). In the formulation of their initiatives, however, it is possible to ascertain the international orientation of the Greens' proposals:

Wir meinen, daß gerade Nicaragua unsere Hilfe bitter nötig hat, denn hier wird vom Volk politische Selbstbestimmung erkämpft und erarbeitet gegen die gewaltsam aufgezwungene Fremdbestimmung und Ausbeutung durch den USA-Imperialismus - an seiner Seite unsere BRD! (Munich undated:76).

Again, the chances of success for such links appear best in communities with red-green administrations, although in Aachen even the CDU was able to support a proposed partnership with a Nicaraguan town (Scheffler 1987:19). A more recent development in the partnership arena was the attempt to establish links with East European towns and cities. Such initiatives are again intended to reduce the level of conflict within Europe by establishing common bonds between communities on either side of the former East-West divide.

The attitude of established local political actors to such policies will be discussed below. The Greens' desire to improve

the status of the local level in West Germany is readily explained, given the restrictions placed upon local authorities in terms of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law and their financial powers. In order to be able to debate their global measures in the local context, the Greens favour a radical shift in the balance of power in the Federal Republic away from the national and regional levels towards the local level. The preference for decentralised forms of decision-making underpins the manner in which the Greens seek to achieve their local political aims and encourages a tendency to disregard traditional forms of political behaviour in local councils. In the opinion of Rieß (1985), the Greens should consciously seek to breach the restrictions placed upon the activities of local councils:

Die Grünen [sollten] in ihrer Kommunalpolitik bewußt die traditionelle Kompetenzverteilung durchbrechen und ein Maximum von Kompetenzen für die Kommune reklamieren (Rieß 1985:38).

Traunsberger and Klemisch (1986) have suggested that the development of a general perspective of the role of local self-government is the only means by which the Greens can avoid being overwhelmed by the mound of papers placed before them by council administrations. In recognition of the limits of local councils, therefore, proposals to decentralise decision-making are widely found in the local election programmes of Green groups in West Germany (e.g. *Marburg 1985; Lippstadt 1984; Geseke 1984; Bonn 1984*). Examples from North Rhine Westphalia, Wiesbaden and Augsburg serve to illustrate the point:

Wir Grünen sehen es als eine unserer wesentlichen Aufgaben an, die zentralstaatliche Entwicklung in der Bundesrepublik nicht nur zu stoppen, sondern einen umfassenden Prozeß der Dezentralisierung einzuleiten (*Erklärung 1984*).

Grundsatz grüner politik ist es, dezentrale, sich selbst verwaltende einheiten zu stärken, also einer zentralisierung entgegenzuwirken. Dies gilt besonders für den bereich der kommunalen selbstverwaltung (sic Wiesbaden 1985).

Wir wissen, daß kommunalpolitische Probleme nur schwer befriedigend zu lösen sind, daß deren Ursachen sich oft dem unmittelbaren Einfluß der Kommunen entziehen oder aber Lösungen nicht finanzierbar sind. Aus diesem Grund treten wir für eine Erweiterung des politischen und finanziellen Handlungsspielraums der Kommunen ein (Augsburg 1984).

This global aspect of the New Local Politics is just one element of the Greens' involvement in local debate. Of course, not all issues raised by the Greens in local council chambers are global in their orientation. The New Politics are not confined to areas beyond the competences of local authorities. A cursory examination of just some of the specialist topics covered in issues of the periodical *Alternative Kommunalpolitik* suffices to show the broad spectrum of themes to which Greens have addressed themselves in recent years: health (AKP 5/88), local Third World politics (AKP 3/88), privatisation (AKP 5/87), local cultural politics (AKP 1/88), children's issues (AKP 1/87), sport themes (AKP 1/86).

What such topics tend to share in common with the global issues is their ideological base and often controversial nature and the conflictual manner in which the Greens seek to portray them. Whilst the established parties aim to avoid confrontation, the Greens thrive upon the publicity caused by conflict in an arena normally regarded as unpolitical. Again, an examination of just three specific areas of Green local politics serves to illustrate the potentially contentious nature of their initiatives.

a) One important area of Green local activity is the creation of public awareness of the country's National Socialist past and the fight against radical right-wing tendencies in German society. At local level this involves portraying the role played by National Socialism in an individual local community as well as encouraging debate upon its legacy (e.g. *Geseke 1987:12; Krefeld 1988*). This can be done by a number of ways. Exhibitions are encouraged on the National Socialist period, with particular emphasis placed upon the persecution of the local Jewish population and the use of forced labour in local factories; guided tours are arranged of local landmarks; events are organised to commemorate significant local anniversaries (e.g. *Lippstadt 1988:2*).

b) A second area of Green local council activity concerns social issues, such as women's rights and the role of social minority groups. With regard to women's issues Meyer-Ullrich (1988) has identified three main focal points of Green attention. Firstly, Greens seek to initiate and stabilise the women's sub-culture by securing financial support for autonomous women's projects. Secondly, they support institutional projects with a feminist orientation. Thirdly, they try to expose discrimination in all local political spheres (Meyer-Ullrich 1988:37). Policies linked to these aims can include the adoption of quota statutes which aim to grant half of all jobs in the local authority administration to women (*Bonn 1984:8f*) or the provision of creche facilities in public offices as a means of encouraging economic activity by women (*Dortmund 1987:13*). Policies which seek to draw attention to the question of violence against women have

aroused much debate in local councils since the Greens became active in local politics. In particular, schemes such as women's refuges, special car parks reserved for women and night-taxis for women have received widespread attention in the media. Night-taxi schemes have been proposed, for example, by Greens in most large towns and cities including Cologne, Heidelberg, Bielefeld, Tübingen and Dortmund (for details see Meyer-Tasch 1988). With regard to social minority groups, the Greens propose measures to reduce discrimination in all its forms. Symbolic actions, such as the nomination of a Spanish citizen to head the local election list in Nuremberg, are complemented by concrete measures to improve the rights of minorities. In Munich district, for example, the Greens proposed that foreigners be given the right to vote in local elections after a 2 year residence period (*Munich 1984:18; also Cologne 1989:13; Dortmund 1987:10f*). Further proposals were introduced to protect asylum seekers from deportation in a number of communities.

c) A final issue which requires attention in the context of the Greens' role in local politics arises from the manner in which they address administrative matters. Generally, the Greens have an ambivalent attitude towards council administrations and established representative practices of council officials. At one level, the Greens occupy a conservative role, seeking to control council expenditure on seemingly unnecessary items. This can involve calls for the withdrawal of official cars for members of the council executive and their replacement with official bicycles (*Römerfraktion 1983*) or attempts to limit increases in



expense allowances for attendance at council meetings (24).

At a second level, the Greens seek to politicise the procedure by which council officials are appointed. Traditionally, in the absence of party political debate in local councils, the most significant decisions to be made by councillors were linked to the appointment of council officers and administrators (Naßmacher 1989:179). As an indication of the existence of a consensus in local councils, it is common for all parties to be represented in either the council executive or heading divisions of the local administration, regardless of their respective strength in the council chamber. This behaviour is depicted in a study by Gabriel et al (1984) of CDU oppositional activities in 10 cities in North Rhine Westphalia, with the election of an SPD mayor being opposed on only one occasion (Gabriel 1984:116f). Decisions regarding the election of local mayors or chief executives have traditionally been made unanimously (Wehling 1989). The Greens have introduced an element of conflict into the appointment procedure, either by putting up opposing candidates for key council offices or by voting against the candidate supported by the established parties. Increasingly, however, the Greens have started to recognise the importance of having party adherents in key council departments. This applies especially in communities with red-green alliances. Loreck's (1985:16) comment that the Greens can be regarded as more suitable alliance partners for the SPD than either the CDU or FDP in local councils because they are not "Postenjäger" no longer seems to hold true (25).

The Greens' ideological approach to local politics represents the

introduction of the New Politics into the local councils of the Federal Republic. Despite difficulties associated with generalising about Green local politics, it is apparent that issues are more important to the Greens than established forms of local politics, related to administrative and personnel matters. Having shown the manner in which the Greens address local politics, the potential for arousing conflict appears great. In the next section, therefore, the sources of this conflict will be addressed.

#### 3.4.2. Sources of conflict arising from New Politics issues at local level

As previously stated, traditional interpretations of the function of local politics in West Germany limit the scope of local council activities to the self-administrative duties laid down in Article 28.2 of the Basic Law (see Gabriel 1979a and 1983b). Although the SPD-Left, acting under the influence of the party's youth wing (the *Jusos*), sought to broaden the horizons of local decision-makers at the beginning of the 1970s (Roth 1972), their results were rather modest (Roth and Edelhoff 1983). The full parliamentarisation of local politics (Gabriel 1984; Roth 1988) has only occurred widely with the entry of the Greens into local councils. Since the Greens are not obliged to operate within the narrow constraints of responsible political behaviour at local level, they can be regarded as the only political party in the Federal Republic to have consistently and systematically challenged the limitations placed upon the role of local government. Not all commentators support such a strategy. Opposition has come from a number of political sources (e.g.

Strauß 1984; Schuster et al 1985; Kanitz 1988; Borchmann 1982), with a publication of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung summing up the general perception of the Greens' local political role:

Kommunale Selbstverwaltung wird nicht in erster Linie als das Recht angesehen, die Angelegenheiten der örtlichen Gemeinschaft in eigener Verantwortung zu regeln (Art. 28.2 GG). Sie erscheint vielmehr als Mittel zu dem Zweck, die gesellschaftliche und politische Ordnung zu überwinden, um sie grundlegend zu verändern (Schuster et al 1985:46).

Evidence suggests that the introduction of globally-based issues into local councils has served to increase the level of conflict within them by a quite considerable degree. Güllner (1986:33) even suggests that this is a possible reason for declining turnouts in local elections, since most citizens seem to prefer consensus politics at local level. Werle's (1981) study of the political orientations of candidates for local council office in Baden-Württemberg demonstrated the existence of a potential gulf between the Greens on the one side and all other local parties on the other. In the context of this study, it will be necessary to examine in greater detail the nature of this conflict, in particular the extent to which the Greens' New Politics approach meets with opposition from across the political spectrum, thereby indicating the emergence of a new cleavage as suggested in the New Politics literature (Bürklin 1981; Baker et al 1981).

A second potential source of conflict arising from the Greens' role in local politics, which also derives to a certain extent from the growth of new global issues, is the scant regard paid by them to traditional, legalistic practices at local level. This question has been debated widely in the specialist press with

regard to specific issues raised by the Greens (see Stober 1986; Kimminich 1983:223). The constraints placed upon local councils by Article 28.2 of the Basic Law, which states that local authorities have the right to regulate matters of relevance to their localities as long as they do not transgress higher level legislation, are generally disregarded by the Greens. The fact that the New Politics Left of the SPD occasionally supports such practices by the Greens gives cause for conservative concern:

In dem Maße, in dem die SPD die Mißachtung der Grenzen der kommunalen Selbstverwaltung durch die GRÜNEN toleriert oder fördert, sind (..) eine Schwächung und Aushöhlung der kommunalen Selbstverwaltung nicht auszuschließen (Kanitz 1988:73).

Whether or not such fears can be justified or not will also be the focus of attention in the case study chapters to follow.

### 3.5. The Greens' strategy in local politics

Having outlined the nature of the issues raised by the Greens, it is now necessary to address a further key element of the party's participation in local politics - the strategy adopted by Green and alternative groups in local party systems in order to achieve their aims. It should be recognised that whilst the strategy debate has often led to an impasse in the operation of the Green Party at regional and national level, the main questions involved in the debate either did not arise or were solved relatively early on at the local level. A realist majority only emerged gradually in the national Green Party - to reflect the views of the majority of Green voters. At local level, however, there has been less scope for damaging factionalism to develop. In local party organisations, where inner-party conflicts did emerge, the

pragmatists tended to gain the upper hand relatively quickly, largely as a result of the nature of West German local politics. It tended only to be in the large towns and cities in which disputes mirroring those of the national and regional party organisations developed, which can be attributed to the compromises which were made in the formative stages of the disparate groupings by activists of differing political orientations.

Given that the Greens have yet to gain majority party status in any West German council chamber, it has been necessary to adopt some form of strategy in order to achieve any degree of success. In this context, it is worth examining briefly the conflicting approaches of two key local council groups in the 1980s. Greens in Frankfurt and Bielefeld have played an important historical role in influencing the course of the strategy debate at local level.

The stance of the first Green Fraktion in Frankfurt's city council (the so-called *Römerfraktion*) is of particular relevance. Between 1981 and 1985 this group adopted a strategy of fundamental opposition, becoming the model for other Green groups with similar political outlooks. In a series of publications, the *Römerfraktion* sought to present their political aims, influencing Green local politicians throughout the Federal Republic (*Römerfraktion* 1983, 1984 and 1985). During the 1980s Frankfurt effectively became the political battleground of the competing fundamentalist and realist factions within the Green Party, with the main protagonists in the debate Joschka Fischer

and Jutta Ditzfurth carrying the conflict into the organs of the national party (26).

Acting upon the belief that Green parliamentary work had less to do with holding power than with heightening public awareness of the basic questions of survival, the first *Römerfraktion* regarded the purpose of their council activities as being to encourage citizens to become active on issues of concern to them. The emphasis was placed distinctly upon extra-parliamentary forms of protest. In this respect they played down the decision-making function of representative institutions, treating them as bodies designed to maintain the status quo. The task the *Römerfraktion* set itself was to make local citizens aware of the inadequacies of representative democracy and thereby engender the dissatisfaction necessary to create the right conditions for the overturning of the established system:

Diese Bedingungen zu schaffen bedeutet auch, bewußt desillusionierend über die reale Funktion des Parlaments zu wirken, die eigene Stellvertreterrolle kontinuierlich in Frage zu stellen und mit Mitteln der klassischen Aufklärung zu erreichen, daß die Bürger sich nicht mehr fremdverwalten lassen, sondern ihre Interessen mehr und mehr selbst vertreten (*Römerfraktion* 1983:1).

The means by which the *Römerfraktion* sought to publicise their ideals lay in the repeated exposure of the "failings" of the established political parties in Frankfurt. The fundamentalist strategy involved the concentration by Green councillors on technical details which could be used in plenary debates to support their radical assertions. Meticulously worded motions on all conceivable policy areas were introduced with a view to creating the long-term potential for change:

Kleine Veränderungen können nur dann real sinnvoll sein,

wenn sie den Keim der Utopie in sich tragen oder mindestens den Weg hin zur konkreten Utopie nicht verstellen (Römerfraktion 1983:1).

The principal flaw in the fundamentalist approach lies in the absence of a positive perspective for the future, which is appealing to the electorate. During the course of the 1981-1985 legislative period, the fundamentalists became involved in a bitter inner-party dispute with the realist faction. The difference between the apocalyptic vision of the radical ecologists and the pragmatic approach of the realists can be discerned in their views on water policy in Frankfurt. The former favour long-term measures:

Wir stehen heute vor der Alternative, entweder die herrschende Vergiftungspolitik fortzusetzen oder mit einer radikalökologischen Wasserpolitik anzufangen. Einen dritten Weg gibt es nicht. Auch ein kleines bißchen Vergiftung führt letztlich zum Tod (...). Da die Konsequenzen (...) radikal sind, dürfen wir auch vor radikalen Lösungen nicht zurückschrecken. Trotzdem können auch kleine Schritte eine Verbesserung bringen. Sie müssen aber in der Perspektive zur radikalen Veränderung führen ... (Römerfraktion 1985:134).

The realist faction, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of undertaking short-term measures to improve water supply:

(...) wir wollen auch handeln, umbauen, umgestalten, die reichen Möglichkeiten von Frankfurt für eine ökologische Stadtgestaltung nutzen - lieber heute als morgen. - Gewiß, der Main kommt schon verschmutzt in Frankfurt an. Dennoch ist gegenwärtig immer noch der größte Mainverschmutzer die Stadt Frankfurt, größer auch als die Hoechst AG. Deshalb ist hier für mich die Stadt die erste Handlungsebene (Koenigs 1988:5).

In 1985 the fundamentalist strategy was rejected overwhelmingly by both the local Green Party in Frankfurt and, more significantly by the electorate (27). Between 1985 and 1989 the realist faction gained the upper hand in the Frankfurt party, mirroring events in the Hessian Green Party (Scharf 1989; Johnsen

1988). Only in 1989 with the adoption of clear strategy in favour of a coalition with the SPD did the pragmatists finally establish final control over the local party organisation in Frankfurt. In the election which followed, the seemingly impregnable CDU majority was broken and a red-green administration formed.

A rather different strategy has been adopted in Bielefeld by the alternative *Bunte Liste (BuLi)* and the Greens since 1979. The *BuLi* Bielefeld was established in 1979 as a distinctly left-wing list to contest local elections in North Rhine Westphalia. Drawing upon the established protest tradition of the university city, the view of the *BuLi*'s members was that the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities of the Green Movement should complement one another without either aspect being of overriding significance. The *BuLi* is of particular relevance to the development of a coherent Green local politics in West Germany since it has been instrumental in efforts to coordinate policy making, acting as a motive force behind the foundation of the *Alternative Kommunalpolitik* periodical, whose headquarters are still in the city. The *BuLi* also played a significant role in organising a first national conference in 1980 of Green local politicians from 33 Green and 15 Rainbow lists. The aim of the conference was to clarify the Greens' role in West German parliaments (Frankfurter Rundschau 18.11.80).

Having gained election to the local council, the *BuLi* recognised the limitations of what could be achieved with only four councillors and adopted a pragmatic view of their council activities, welcoming compromises in certain areas:



Sie können als Erfolgserlebnis, als Nachweis der prinzipiellen Realitätsbezogenheit und Realisierbarkeit der eigenen Vorstellungen den außerparlamentarischen Kampf beflügeln, was wiederum die Voraussetzungen im Parlament verbessert (Krämer and Winter 1982:160).

Although often in conflict with the SPD council group, the *BuLi* passed the city budget three times with the Social Democrats in the 1979-1984 legislative period, without ever formally entering into an alliance with the party (AKP 4/84:18). Such a strategy was rewarded in 1984 with a greatly increased share of the vote and subsequent participation in the local administration as part of a red-green coalition. In effect, the approach of the *BuLi* in Bielefeld represented a compromise between the competing strategies of the Frankfurt Fundamentalists and Realists. Council representation was not viewed as an end in itself, nor was it regarded as being of secondary importance to extra-parliamentary activities. Perhaps the most significant difference, however, lay in the differing party constellations of the two cities. Where the *BuLi* Fraktion in Bielefeld was obliged to come to terms with a situation in which they could support a minority SPD administration as early as 1979 (Krämer and Winter 1982:174), the *Römerfraktion* in Frankfurt was able to develop its fundamentalist concept in a city with a seemingly impregnable CDU absolute majority. Under such circumstances it was rather academic what stance the Greens adopted to various issues, since their influence over council decisions was severely restricted.

Although individual local party systems vary considerably across the Federal Republic, it is increasingly the Bielefeld model which has been adopted, albeit unconsciously, by the majority of

local Green party organisations. Fundamentalist strategies have rapidly given way to more active participation in local council affairs, in the form of alliances with the SPD (see Scharf 1989; Tolmein 1986:8f; Kanitz 1988; Loreck 1987; Bullmann 1985; Bullmann 1987; Henkeborg 1987). In some cases alliances have even been forged with the CDU (28). The fact that such forms of cooperation are now relatively commonplace at local level, yet still present difficulties for Greens at national and regional level says something about the nature of local political involvement. Despite their openly ideological approach to local politics, the Greens have rapidly become aware that the local level is not the level at which the "system" is to be changed. This has been summed up neatly as follows in a report produced by the Greens in the Soest district in North Rhine Westphalia:

Der Begriff "Kommunalpolitik" ist (...) im Grunde genommen unter anderem auch als Kurformel für die (...) "Realität der kleinen Schritte" zu verstehen (Soest 1988: no page number).

Although there is still a considerable gulf between the New Politics of the Greens and the established procedures of the SPD, reflected in the often conflictual alliances between the parties, compromise is more easily reached when the alternative would be a Grand Coalition of CDU and SPD or a CDU-FDP alliance in the local council. Kanitz (1988) has suggested that red-green alliances are most successful when the SPD is dominated by its left-wing. In the context of this study, however, the question which arises is more overtly one of whether it is the New Politics Left of the SPD which dictates the degree of success of such alliances.

### 3.6 The organisation of the Greens at local level: the failure of the grassroots democratic model

The final aspect of Green local politics to be addressed regards the organisation of Green and Alternative groups in West German local politics. There is no need in this study to repeat the analysis of the origins of the strategy of grassroots democracy (*Basisdemokratie*) or indeed to generalise about its principal shortcomings. Both Zeuner (1983) and Fogt (1984) treat this topic in detail, albeit it from differing perspectives, with regard to the operation of the Greens at the national and regional levels of the West German party system (see also Kolinsky 1984:306f; Weinberger 1984:127f; Ismayr 1985; Scharping and Hoffmann-Göttig 1982:405f). The purpose of this section is to establish a framework against which hypotheses regarding the Greens' New Politics organisational structure at local level can be tested.

Müller-Rommel and Poguntke (1989) identify two structural characteristics of a New Politics party. The first guarantees the political autonomy of the "grassroots". The second is the emphasis placed upon unconventional forms of political action (Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1989:22; also Poguntke 1987b:80f). It will be suggested in this section that, despite attempts to implement New Politics structures at local level, these factors have been of limited long-term significance in Green local politics. Moreover, it will be argued that such organisational forms are wholly incompatible with the successful participation in local decision-making processes. As a result, more traditional forms of political behaviour are the norm for Greens active at local level.

Again, it must be stressed that the heterogeneous nature of local Green and Alternative groups renders generalisation on this topic difficult and adds further weight to the necessity of adopting a case study technique. This method has the advantage that it goes some way towards addressing the problems deriving from the lack of objective source materials on Green local politics, outlined above.

### 3.6.1. Grassroots democracy: the context of debate

There are several key elements underpinning the New Politics organisational structures adopted by the majority of local Green and Alternative parties. It should, however, be stressed at the outset that an enormous gulf exists between the formal elements of grassroots democracy and the operationalisation of the concept.

The formal elements of grassroots democracy can be identified within the statutes of local Green parties throughout the Federal Republic, irrespective of the size or socio-economic type of the relevant community. The intention is to ensure representation for party supporters (the *Basis*), to counteract tendencies towards a hierarchisation of decision-making and to avoid pressures which might lead to an institutionalisation of Green politicians. In this respect, it was the intention of the Greens to be an "anti-party party" (Hoplitschek 1982:82). Such was the emphasis placed by the Greens upon the grassroots democratic strategy, that it became one of the four unifying tenets of the party at its Saarbrücken programme conference in 1980 (Bolaffi and

Kallscheuer 1983). The principal characteristics of the concept require party meetings to be open to the public, ensure that certain controls are placed upon party office holders and elected representatives (e.g. rotation, imperative mandate, ban on holding multiple offices) and seek to guarantee full participatory rights for members in all party activities. The manifesto of the Pulheim Greens for the 1984 local elections in North Rhine Westphalia exemplifies the main elements of the strategy:

Die Sachentscheidungen der GRÜNEN im Pulheimer Rat werden auf der Mitgliederversammlung erörtert und entschieden. Die Ratsmitglieder der GRÜNEN verstehen sich nur als ausführendes Organ dieser basisdemokratischen Entscheidungen.

Die GRÜNEN werden aufgrund der negativen Erfahrungen im parlamentarischen System ihre Ratsmitglieder nach der Hälfte der Legislaturperiode austauschen soweit die Basis der GRÜNEN nicht anders entscheidet.

Die Mitgliederversammlungen sind öffentlich und erlauben jedem Bürger ein Mitspracherecht (..)

Ein Grundprinzip der GRÜNEN ist das Transparentmachen lokaler Probleme für den Bürger und die Öffentlichkeit (Pulheim 1984).

An additional feature of the grassroots democratic approach is the tendency for Green groups to campaign in local elections with "open" party lists - electoral lists which allow non-party members to stand for election to local councils. This policy, followed in Bonn, Krefeld, Cologne, Bochum and Munich, for example, seeks to ensure adequate representation of the views of the new social movements in local councils.

Despite continued ideological support for the concept, evidence suggests that *Basisdemokratie* simply does not work. It does not work at national or regional level (Fogt 1984) and it appears not

to work at local level either. Several problems relating to the attempted implementation of the grassroots democratic structure can be discerned. However, before addressing the precise problems, it is first necessary to draw attention to a fundamental weakness of Green and Alternative groups at local level.

Inadequate membership levels and an overwhelming lack of interest in local political affairs amongst Green activists lie at the heart of almost all of the problems to be raised. Within the context of Green representation at local level, it has already been shown how swiftly the Greens have become a parliamentary party at local level. With a concentration of activists' attention on council work, there is a marked absence of people willing to assume the controlling functions required for the successful working of the grassroots democratic concept. This is a problem aggravated by the disinterest of party supporters in local political matters. Whilst political culture studies have demonstrated that Green Party supporters have a higher degree of general political interest than adherents of other parties (e.g. Veen 1987:109), this does not generally appear to apply at local level. Signs of the disinterest in local politics are evident not only in low attendances at regular Fraktion meetings (e.g. Bonn 1985:6), but even in the lack of activists willing to assume public office (see below).

The disinterest can partially be explained by the banal nature of much local political activity, despite the Greens' attempts to liven up debate. This is the principal reason cited by Güllner

(1986:36) to support his contention that the Greens offer little long-term hope for an improvement of local authority competences in West Germany. Confrontational styles and the discussion of "political" issues have not yet become the universal norm in West German local politics. The type of New Politics issues which interest Green supporters tend to have a national or international focus. Although, as has been shown, the Greens seek to bring such issues into local councils, there is not much elected representatives can do to combat the disinterest of party supporters in their activities:

Wir machen seit einem Jahr reale Parlamentspolitik. Denn das ist der Rahmen, den wir vorgefunden haben und nur kritisieren, aber nicht sprengen können. Wir thematisieren die Fragen von Krieg und Frieden bei allen möglichen Anlässen, die sich in der Kommunalpolitik bieten. Aber wir führen keine Debatte über Sinn (?) und Unsinn der NATO. Wir besetzen auch nicht das Mikrophon, um eine Analyse zu liefern, daß der Kapitalismus an allem Schuld ist... Stattdessen stimmen wir dagegen, daß das städtische Eigentum an Boden privatisiert wird. (...) Wir bringen aber keine Resolution in den Rat ein, in denen steht, daß Pinochet ein Schwein ist (*Bonn* 1985:7).

The limited scope of local council activity ensures that local politics is treated as being of only secondary importance by the majority of Green Party members (see Swatzina 1987; Metzger 1987). Attempts by councillors to raise issues of local political relevance in party meetings are seemingly predestined to fail. As a result, only highly controversial issues which crop up once or twice a year, such as the question of whether or not the Greens should form an alliance with the SPD in the local council, can arouse the interest of the majority of party members. Once these issues are resolved, membership interest once again wanes and the council group is left to its own devices. Swatzina sums this

situation up with a quote from a member of the Cologne Green Fraktion: *"Was die Politik im Stadtrat angeht, können wir auf die Partei verzichten"* (Swatzina 1987:; also Bonn 1988:2).

This is the background against which Green local politics occurs. Inadequate membership levels and widespread disinterest characterise all areas of the party's local activities, making it difficult to implement an effective grassroots democratic structure. This fundamental problem is of direct relevance to the first question to be raised, which regards the identification of the Greens' grassroots. As will be shown, it is even problematic to assume that a grassroots can be identified at the level at which the Greens are supposedly closest to their Basis.

### 3.6.2. The identification of the Greens' grassroots

Local Green groups find themselves in a unique position within the structure of the Green Party, since they fulfil two roles. Firstly, they are treated by Greens operating at higher levels as a *Basis* in their own right, being assigned certain control functions. The participation of the local grassroots in important party meetings is regarded as a disciplining feature over competing national party factions (29). Secondly, local Green groups have a grassroots of their own. It is the second aspect which is important in this analysis.

The Greens' grassroots effectively vary from locality to locality depending upon the nature of existing local oppositional groups, the strength of electoral support for the Greens and the political composition of the Greens. In general, three different types of grassroots can be discerned (see Huber 1983). In some



localities the Greens regard party members as the *Basis* to which they are accountable. In other communities more emphasis is placed upon links with the new social movements. Evidence suggests that it is the third type of grassroots, the electorate, which is increasingly treated as the Greens' *Basis* in West German local politics. In this respect the Greens are becoming indistinguishable from the established political parties in terms of their organisational structures.

It is necessary at this point to differentiate between Green groups which operate in urban and rural areas. Although the variations between the different groups are no longer quite as marked as was once the case, certain characteristics of Green and Alternative groups in both regional types need to be addressed.

It is easiest to begin with the identification of the Greens' grassroots in the non-metropolitan areas of West Germany. In rural areas, the Greens seldom have the choice of which group constitutes their grassroots (see Wiesenthal 1985:153; Metzger 1987:5). Under such circumstances examples exist of Green groups seeking to co-opt unaffiliated groups to act as their Basis. This appears to be the result of desperation on the part of Green groups condemned to act without an identifiable grassroots. In Königstein in Hesse's Hochtaunus district, for example, the rather conservative *Aktionsgemeinschaft Lebenswertes Königstein* (ALK) objected strongly to attempts by the district Green Party to treat its members as part of its Basis:

Das Verhältnis zu den Grünen im Kreis ist schwierig. Kurz nach der Kommunalwahl hatten diese alle lokalen Wählergemeinschaften zu einem Gespräch eingeladen und

dabei erklärt, daß sie die Wählergemeinschaften als ihre Basis betrachteten, zumal der Kontakt zur tatsächlichen Basis, den Bürgern, im flächenmäßig großen Hochtaunuskreis sehr schwierig wäre. Diese "basisdemokratischen" Vorstellungen (..) waren von ALK Mitgliedern kritisiert und gleichzeitig Informations- und Erfahrungsaustausch angeboten worden. Wir sind dann nie mehr zu einem solchen Treffen eingeladen worden (ALK 1985:67).

Active forms of local opposition, such as citizen's initiative groups, are less common in rural West Germany than in the country's towns and cities. Under such circumstances it is simply impossible for the Greens to claim to be the parliamentary arm of an extra-parliamentary movement. Where initiative groups exist in rural areas, they tend in any case to be keen to preserve their independence from political parties. Voigt (1986:12) acknowledges that this is the only way in which they can hope to secure broad support for their aims.

The absence of local initiative groups is compounded in rural areas by low membership figures for the Greens. In many rural localities the council group and the local Green Party are one in the same (Weiß 1986). The parliamentarisation of the Greens appears to be most acute in the small rural communities of the Federal Republic:

Besonders groß sind die Schwierigkeiten von Mandatsträgern in den Gemeinden mit weniger als 8,000 Einwohnern. Dort sind grüne Listen häufig erst kurz vor den jeweiligen Wahlen gebildet worden. Fundierte Vorarbeit (..) fehlt meistens. In nicht wenigen Fällen sitzen die grünen/alternativen Mandatsträger als Einzelkämpfer im Rat, was die Gefahr erhöht, entweder weitgehend isoliert oder in die Rolle des belächelten Exoten gedrängt zu werden (Simon 1986:32).

The absence of a grassroots can have its advantages, however, as identified by Nippkau (1986):

"Man gewöhnt sich an den Zustand, seine eigene Basis zu

sein." Diese Klagen sind typisch für die gesamte grüne Kommunalpolitik. (...) Aber die dünne Personaldecke hat auf dem Lande auch ihre Vorteile. "Da es bei uns leider zu wenig Aktive gibt, ist das Verhältnis Fraktion-Basis unproblematisch" (Nippkau 1986:30).

In this context, the only grassroots relevant to the Greens' can be the local population. This corresponds to traditional forms of local political control, which stem from the everyday social contacts between councillors and citizens. Such contacts allegedly restrict excessive radicalism on the part of local Green politicians (Nippkau 1986). If Green councillors want to be successful in rural areas, they need to ensure a healthy rapport with local citizens, which leads them to adopt pragmatic viewpoints on local issues: *"überhaupt bestimmen die persönlichen Beziehungen mehr oder minder deutlich das Verhalten im Rat"* (Henning 1986:35).

Established forms of political behaviour increasingly mark the activities of urban Green groups too, in their keenness to escape the restrictions placed upon their council activities by the constantly changing composition of the other types of grassroots support: party members and the new social movements. Whilst the latter sources of support are in a permanent state of change, the electorate can be relied upon to remain relatively stable.

The Greens' membership has changed radically over the last decade, as can be expected for a party still in its formative years. Changes in the composition of the membership can create unanticipated difficulties for local party organisation which adhere strictly to the grassroots democratic concept. In Bielefeld, for example, Boch et al (1982) attributed the

development of competing factions within the *Bunte Liste (BuLi)* to changes in its membership. Whilst the founder members of the *BuLi* in 1979 shared a common social and political background, enabling the implementation of a consensual decision-making model, the structure of the group's support altered in the period which succeeded their initial election to council office:

Alles in allem haben wir es mit einem Zustand zu tun, in dem einerseits der bisherige Fundus politischer Gemeinsamkeiten sich im wesentlichen als nicht mehr praxisrelevant erwiesen hat und zum anderen noch kein neuer handlungsleitender Konsens erarbeitet ist (Boch et al 1982:41).

Local initiative groups are subject to an even greater degree of fluctuation than Green party membership (see Roth 1988:14). At one level, initiative groups have a restricted life cycle. The only thing which binds their members together is the single-issue cause they follow. If this cause is taken away, then the groups tend to disintegrate. Numerous examples exist of local initiative groups abandoning their activities once the Greens were elected to the local council, feeling that they have achieved their aim in gaining representation for their wishes (e.g. Krefeld 1988). In one (unnamed) Hessian community, a Green representative reported the decline of 5 local citizens' initiative groups, following the "parliamentarisation" of the Greens:

... ab und zu hab ich so den Eindruck, die, die dem Parlament am kritischsten gegenüberstehen, sind ins Parlament eingezogen, während die Basis in den Bürgerinitiativen nun, da wir drinnen sitzen, dem Parlament volles Vertrauen entgegenbringen (Anon 1985:99)

At another level, the initiative groups are limited in their action radius. Despite the tendency for Green council groups to foster the illusion that they are the parliamentary arm of an

extra-parliamentary movement, the extra-parliamentary movement has never existed in a single, recognisable form (Brand 1987:41f; Rucht 1987). Instead, the heterogeneous nature of the new social movements necessitates a differentiation on the part of the Greens, who are often required to accommodate the conflicting and contradictory aims of local initiative groups.

The difficulties associated with the maintenance of links with the new social movements have been addressed in two detailed reports prepared by the Greens in Bonn city council (Bonn 1985 and 1988). It took the Greens only one year of council representation to be able to establish in 1985 that it could not successfully aggregate the wishes of its Basis: "*es gibt unrealistische Erwartungen an uns. (...) verschiedene Basisvertreter erwarten Verschiedenes*" (Bonn 1985:7). Contradictions can arise when the Greens attempt to represent the demands of all initiative groups at the same time. In one instance the Bonn *Fraktion* and an unemployed workers' initiative found themselves in conflict with other initiative groups on the question of whether or not they should make use of a government employment scheme (*Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen - ABMs*). Whilst the Greens and the unemployed workers' initiative objected to the measures - on the grounds that the employment opportunities which arose were both poorly paid and temporary - the other groups supported the scheme since it offered them a subsidised source of labour. In order to avoid alienating either source of support, the Greens were obliged to adopt a contradictory position:

Um die Projektbewegung nicht zu verärgern und weil wir ihr Anliegen ja vertreten - begeben wir uns in die Spaltung, ABM politisch zu bekämpfen, aber an unserer

Stimme die Existenz eines Projekts nicht scheitern zu lassen (Bonn 1985:7).

Initiative groups which are dependent upon local authority finance in order to survive (cultural groups, social initiatives, alternative businesses) differ fundamentally from those with more general political aims (see Roth 1988:19f). The former do not want the Greens to use the parliament as a platform for making radical statements (*Standbein-Spielbein* theory), but require "rooms and money" (Bonn 1985:7). The latter can afford to be more radical and critical of the Greens, since their aims are not to be achieved at local level. In practice, the degree of cooperation between the elected Greens and the local initiative groups is most straightforward when specific local demands are placed before the Greens and the *Fraktion* can use its influence to represent the demands by way of parliamentary questions or motions (Bonn 1985:8).

It has been as a result of their unstable membership base and the ad hoc nature of initiative group support, that the Greens in urban areas have tended to seek a more representative basis for their council activities. This grassroots can only be found in the local population. Even people who would not normally vote for the party, appear to regard the Greens as a party willing at least to listen to their cause. This stems from the absence of precisely defined forms of opposition in most localities (Gabriel et al 1984). The Dortmund experience is typical. Following their election to the city council in 1984, the Green *Fraktion* in Dortmund became the reference point for citizens seeking to resolve problems arising from dealings with the city authorities

or wishing to draw attention to local environmental problems (see also Bochum 1987). Although such people do not belong to the Greens' Basis in a formal sense, the representation of their views by the Greens occupies much of the Green council group's time:

Wir haben als Fraktion einen enormen Vorsprung an "Informationsmacht". Was ein Einwohner, wenn überhaupt, erst nach langen Wegen und mit großer Mühe erfahren würde, klärt sich für uns (in der Regel) ohne besonders große Anstrengung innerhalb kurzer Zeit. Der schöne Spruch "Wissen ist Macht" bestätigt sich in unserer täglichen Arbeit (Dortmund 1987:3f).

In the increasing number of communities in which the Greens have assumed executive responsibilities for certain aspects of local politics, it no longer possible for them to adopt a narrow view of who they are to represent. In Leverkusen, for example, where the city environment office (*Umweltbüro*) was headed by a Green between 1984 and 1989 - as a result of an agreement reached with the SPD - the Green council group was obliged to hold public meetings as a means of involving local citizens in the decision-making process and of explaining policy measures: "*Die Fraktion war damit bereit, den Bürger immer wieder anzuhören, ohne sich jedoch einem Bürgervotum auszuliefern*" (Leverkusen 1987:12). Given that such red-green coalitions have become more widespread in West Germany since the mid-1980s, with Green representatives assuming executive positions in local councils (Scharf 1989), the Greens are obliged to broaden the scope of their Basis, increasingly representing the population as a whole.

The obvious question which arises at this point is whether the

Greens are actually very different to the established political parties in terms of the people they aim to represent. Evidence suggests that they are not. When one talks of *Basisdemokratie*, it is apparent that this concept has applied only to Green groups active in the urban areas of West Germany. As has been shown, however, even the Greens in the metropolitan areas appear to be becoming less distinctive.

### 3.6.3. The failure of control mechanisms at local level

A second area of difficulty arising from the Greens' attempts to operationalise a grassroots democratic organisational model corresponds to the situation, identified by Fogt (1984) for the national and regional levels, that the Greens soon become dominated by an activist clique (see also Langguth 1984:86). Owing to the demands placed upon the time of unpaid party workers and elected representatives, only certain social groups are available to participate in Green politics. In this study it is necessary to establish the relevance of Fogt's critique at local level.

Elected Green groups originally seek to organise their local council activities in a manner which encourages the participation of a maximum number of supporters in the party's internal decision-making processes. In Bonn, for example, all *Fraktion* meetings are open to members of the public and non-hierarchical structures have been implemented. The Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, which determines local policy, comprised during the 1984-1989 legislative period the party's 8 councillors (and their successors - *Nachrücker*), members elected to the Bonn



Bezirksvertretungen (and their *Nachrücker*), appointed committee members (*sachkundige Bürger*) and 5 part-time business managers. In all, 40 people helped determine the Greens' local political strategy. The size of the group was not felt to have reduced the efficiency of the Bonn Fraktion:

Trotz z.T. heftiger Konflikte in einzelnen Sachfragen brauchten wir bislang keine Geschäftsordnung, die als formale Krücke in verfahrenen Situationen hätte helfen müssen (Bonn 1988:7).

In other cities (e.g. Cologne, Munich, Marburg), local political strategies are determined by specialist working groups (*kommunalpolitische Arbeitskreise*) of varying sizes, composed of elected councillors, party activists and interested persons.

The existence of such large steering groups in certain cities has, however, failed to resist the institutional pressures towards the adoption of forms of hierarchisation. This has occurred over time at two levels. At one level, important administrative and coordinative tasks are commonly carried out by appointed business managers. The criteria for their appointment are not always clear to outsiders, but previous service in the Green movement is essential. It is these individuals who are in charge of the everyday management of local council affairs rather than the Greens' elected representatives, who are prevented from holding multiple positions in the party. Further decisions are made by elected spokespersons. Hierarchisation has also occurred at a second level. As the Greens become involved in the intricacies of local politics, a need for specialist advice on specific policy areas develops. This presents acute problems for a party with low levels of active membership and a general

disinterest in local political matters. Although working groups exist in the majority of cities, the size and composition of these groups varies quite markedly. In practice, a highly motivated activist core can exert great influence over the strategy to be adopted by the council group. In areas of limited interest to the majority of local activists, it is common for just one or two people to represent the views of the party.

The tendency towards the concentration of decision-making in the hands of a few activists is made more serious by the absence of suitable forms of control over their actions. The control of elected representatives appears to be of little relevance to the great majority of local party organisations, again as a result of low membership figures which dictates that there is an absence of candidates willing to assume elected office. This feature is well illustrated with regard to rotation at local level.

In some communities the rotation principle was not adopted for reasons of principle. In others it was not instituted for more pragmatic reasons. In a number of communities, however, the principle was adopted, but could not be implemented owing to the lack of party members willing to succeed rotating councillors. This applies to rural areas in particular, in which Green activists are still relatively uncommon. Simon (1986) illustrates the point in the context of rural communities in Baden-Württemberg with a weak infrastructure of citizens' initiatives and in which other potential sources of Green support are absent. In the communities of this region, with its flexible voting system which emphasises the element of personality (Woyke

and Steffens 1987; Wehling 1986), rotation could be interpreted as a contravention of the electorate's wishes. Similarly, the electoral system also encourages Green councillors to stand at successive elections, in order to benefit from any impression they have made upon voters during their first period in office (Metzger 1987:5).

Even in communities in which rotation was held to be desirable, the policy has been undermined by the absence of people willing to succeed serving councillors:

Wenn ich als Stadtverordneter einem der Leute auf den hinteren Plätzen was von Rotation erzähle, dann kriegen die nur das kalte Grausen und winken ab. Die haben nämlich inzwischen mitgekriegt, daß so ein Mandat unheimlich viel Freizeit kostet, wenig interessant und oft sehr frustig ist (Anon 1985:98).

Despite the fact that the local alternative group in one Hessian community had a reserve electoral list with some 75 names on it and the desire of a number of its elected councillors to leave office, there were no people keen to take over (ALK 1985:75; also Simon 1984:54).

Even in urban areas, in which radical democratic structures were most whole-heartedly adopted by the Greens in their formative years, rotation of officials has seldom been a salient issue. A study by the *Grüne und Alternative in den Räten Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1988) discovered instead a "natural rotation" of Green councillors, which occurred irrespective of any formal decisions supporting such a policy (see also Rohr and Hau 1985:41 with respect to Limburg). In Bonn, the decision to rotate half-way through the 1984-1989 council term could not be

fulfilled since three people had already left the council group before the designated change over point and the rotation principle could no longer be fairly applied to remaining group members (*Bonn* 1988:7f).

In practice, therefore, the issue of rotation has never played a major role at the local level of the Green Party organisation (AKP 4/84). This also applies to the other forms of grassroots democratic control adopted in local party statutes, such as the imperative mandate as is exemplified in the case of Bochum:

Den Beschlüssen der MV wird auch gegen "bessere Einsicht" Rechnung getragen. Im Zweifelsfalle gilt jedoch, daß der Abgeordnete seinem Gewissen verpflichtet ist, das schließt notfalls die Rückgabe des Mandats ein (*Swatzina* 1987:45).

Even the policy which seeks to limit the holding of multiple offices by Green representatives is increasingly falling into disuse at local level. The shortage of local political activists means that some people are (often unwillingly) obliged to assume office in different councils at the same time. In the Rhineland Palatinate, for example, between 1984 and 1989 one Green Party member held office in the district council and in the supra-local council (*Bezirkstag-Pfalz*) simultaneously, having also submitted an application for the office of mayor of the *Kreisstadt* (*Rohrbacher-List* 1984:10). Particularly in rural areas of West Germany, it is becoming more common for Greens to hold party office in conjunction with public office. This again tends to underline the pace with which the Greens are becoming more and more like the established political parties, in which the holding of multiple assets is regarded as a positive feature.

The problem which results from the creeping hierarchisation of the Greens and the absence of formal controls upon party representatives, however, is that it supports the continued dominance of activists in local council decision-making. In this context, there appears ample evidence that Fogt's (1984) hypothesis also applies at local level.

#### 3.6.4 The strained relationship between the Greens and local initiative groups

A third problem area to be addressed is the poor level of coordination which characterises the links between elected representatives of the Greens and their grassroots (Heidger 1987). Although this applies to links within the Green Party itself (Bonn 1988:11; Weiß 1986:58; LWL 1987:18; Swatzina 1987:14), the area to be addressed in this section regards the relationship between the Greens and the new social movements at local level.

As previously discussed, it is difficult for the Greens to represent the views of the highly disparate initiative groups without contradictions emerging in their policies. Even in clear-cut cases in which the views of the relevant initiative groups do not conflict with those of the Greens, the links can become highly strained. An example of such a case comes from Tübingen in Baden-Württemberg. An initiative group was formed in 1983 to press for the introduction by the town council of a night taxi service for the exclusive use of women. The initiative's overriding aim was to draw attention to the issue of violence

against women, which the group felt was being ignored by both the police and the local council. The women of the initiative group regarded the *Alternative Liste* (AL) in Tübingen as their natural allies, but were disappointed by the lukewarm support expressed by the AL for their proposal. Only one woman in the AL council group displayed an interest in the project:

Sowohl die Forderung für das AL-Programm als auch der Antrag an die Stadt auf die Bewilligung eines Haushaltspostens für das Frauentaxi wurden mit aller zeitraubenden Kleinarbeit, die das mit sich bringt, von uns formuliert. Nach wie vor rangierte das Projekt bei der AL unter ferner liefen (Taxi 1985:37).

Supporters of the initiative group were particularly dismayed when, having secured some financial support for the project, it was the AL which became the focus of media attention from throughout the Federal Republic rather than them. Criticism was expressed that the AL failed to inform initiative group supporters of vital decisions affecting their project. When funding for the taxi-project was ultimately withdrawn by the council, the initiative group still believed that the AL's disinterest was instrumental:

Das letztlich immer noch bestehende Desinteresse der AL an dem feministisch politischen Aspekt des Frauentaxis zeigte sich dann im Auftreten ihrer Vertreterin in der entscheidenden Ausschusssitzung. Sie machte einen unvorbereiteten Eindruck, argumentierte teilweise schlecht, teilweise nicht nachdrücklich genug, eine Argumentationshilfe der Frauentaxi-Initiative war nicht mehr möglich, da wir ja über die Vorgänge nicht informiert worden waren (Taxi 1985:40).

Although it is difficult to generalise about Green local politics on the basis of a single example, the Tübingen case appears typical of the often strained relationship between the Greens and initiative groups purporting to be their *Basis*. The principal criticism of the initiatives is that Green parliamentarians often

fail to consult with them or fail to inform them immediately of developments which may affect the initiative's success (see also Schulz and Schmitz 1985):

Als Zentralpunkt unserer Kritik an der Zusammenarbeit der AL mit uns bleibt festzuhalten, daß die AL uns über verwaltungsinterne Abläufe überhaupt nicht informierte (Taxi 1985:40).

Underlying such criticism, however, is the desire of the majority of local initiative groups to secure funding for their projects. The Greens are often regarded as the best means of securing such funding, particularly in localities in which the party has assumed executive office as a result of an arrangement with the SPD (e.g. Henkeborg 1987:108). The relationship between the Greens and the initiative groups appears, therefore, to be largely a one-way affair. Again, there is a need for this issue to be addressed in detail in the case study section.

### 3.7 Summary: The institutionalisation of the Greens?

In this chapter the contradictory face of Green local politics in the Federal Republic has been depicted. On the one hand, the Greens seem to be highly innovative, introducing proposals which are not only new to local politics, but which transcend the traditional limits placed upon local authority activities. On the other, the Greens appear to becoming more and more integrated into established local political practices. This latter process is summed up excellently in a quote from Cologne:

Die wilden Zeiten der Grünen Ratspolitiker sind vorbei. Von der Umstellung der Fordwerke auf den Bau von Fahrrädern ist längst nicht mehr die Rede (Cologne 1989:133).

The rapid pace of integration appears to arise largely as a

result of the party's inadequate level of membership and grassroots support, but also because of a marked disinterest of the majority of adherents in local council work. This corresponds to the growing recognition that the local level is not the one at which the "system" is to be changed.

The information sources upon which such conclusions are based are limited in their scope. For this reason it is necessary to test hypotheses arising from this chapter in the context of a detailed case study of a particular locality. Four hypotheses are to be addressed:

1. Green local politics is ideologically based and represents the extension of the New Politics agenda to the local level.
2. Green local politics is, as a result of its New Politics orientation, highly conflictual. The emerging conflict cuts across established party divisions along an Old Local Politics-New Local Politics dimension.
3. The Greens' adopt parliamentary styles of politics at local level, which run counter to established collegial forms of behaviour and result in a politicisation of all aspects of local council activity.
4. Over time, the Greens are drawn into established local political practices and are forced to conform to traditional modes of decision-making.



#### Chapter 4

##### The Selection of a Case Study Community

In Chapter 3 the role of the Greens at local level in the Federal Republic was discussed, by necessity, in rather general terms. The evidence suggests not only that the Greens are a highly heterogeneous force in the country's local politics, but also that they have undergone a significant amount of internal change during the course of their period in local council representation. This makes any attempt to generalise about the Greens' activities at local level rather difficult, particularly when one considers the absence of objective source materials on many aspects of Green local politics (see section 3.1). In this analysis, a case study approach will be adopted as a suitable means of establishing an accurate picture of the Greens' role in the changes which have characterised West Germany's local party systems since the late 1970s.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 the hypotheses relating to various aspects of Green local politics will be addressed in full with respect to one particular West German city, Mainz. Before commencing the detailed analysis of the Greens' impact upon the Mainz party system over a three year period, it is necessary to demonstrate the extent to which Mainz can be regarded as representing a typical community in terms of the questions under review. In this chapter, therefore, the principal criteria for the selection of a suitable case study locality will be outlined (section 4.1). The extent to which the city of Mainz satisfies these criteria can then be identified. The manner in which the analysis is to be completed forms the basis of section 4.2.

#### 4.1 The selection of the case study locality

The overriding aim of this thesis has been to demonstrate the extent to which the changes evident in the local politics of the Federal Republic are linked in general to the emergence of the New Politics and in particular to the rise of the Greens. Given this aim, three key criteria present themselves for the selection of a suitable case study community for the purposes of the analysis. These pertain to the level of socio-economic modernisation witnessed by the community, the existence of an "established" local party system and the availability of and degree of access to relevant source documentation.

In Chapter 2 the emergence of the New Politics was discussed in terms of the disparate rates of socio-economic modernisation experienced by communities across the Federal Republic. Indicators representative of the varying pace of the modernisation process were judged to be the relevance of the service sector to the local economy, the presence of a highly educated population and a growing degree of secularisation. It was suggested that the impact of the New Politics upon local party systems would be greatest in those urban localities in which the rate of socio-economic change - measured in terms of the level of employment in and income generated by the service sector - has been most marked. The first selection criterion, therefore, sought to identify a study community with a service sector economy and a high proportion of well educated citizens.

A second important criterion for the selection of a case study locality was the existence of an "established" local party system

prior to the emergence of the Greens. As previously explained, the activities of West German local councils for much of the post-war period have been characterised by consensual forms of decision-making (see Gabriel 1979a; Gabriel 1984). In place of party political conflict, council chambers have tended to become dominated by administrative decision-making procedures (Lehmbruch 1975). It has been suggested that the Greens' "New Local Politics" approach represents a prime factor underlying increased levels of dissent in local councils and the development of more parliamentary styles of local politics during the 1970s and 1980s. By selecting a community in which party political debate had largely been absent in the years preceding the election of the Greens, it was hoped that the full impact of the Greens' unique approach to local politics could be assessed. For this reason, communities at the forefront of tendencies towards parliamentarisation, primarily large cities such as Frankfurt or Munich, were avoided. Similarly, communities in which the Greens had played an important role in local affairs prior to the commencement of the research project were also excluded from consideration. Given the amount of change experienced by local Green groups - in terms of membership and grassroots support - within a relatively short time period, any attempts to reconstruct the events of the late 1970s and early 1980s would have been extremely difficult. This criterion further reduced the number of potentially suitable study communities, since the initial local electoral successes of Green and Alternative lists came primarily in the service sector centres of the Federal Republic.

The final selection criterion to be discussed, regards the level of accessibility of relevant source materials necessary for the completion of a case study analysis. Two basic types of data were required for the intended analysis. Firstly, it was necessary to gain access to the internal party papers of the relevant Green council groups. This would allow conclusions to be drawn about the manner in which the party's key decision-making bodies operate at local level. In order to secure such access, it would be necessary to establish a degree of trust between the researcher and the relevant Green organisation. Secondly, it was necessary to gain access to documentation provided by local council administrations. The minutes of local council and council committee meetings and a complete register of the parliamentary initiatives (motions) of the various local council groups were to be utilised as a means of illustrating the relevance of the Greens and the New Politics to changing patterns of local council activity. Whilst no real difficulty in gaining access to the first type of data was anticipated, since the Greens operate as a highly open political force, the second requirement was less straightforward. Not only does the quality of the minutes of council sessions vary from community to community, in some communities there can be lengthy delays between the completion of a council session and the production of the relevant minutes (30). Without access to both data sources, it would prove extremely difficult to analyse in detail the impact of the Greens upon the local party system.

In this study, the city of Mainz was selected as a focus for

research into the role of the Greens in West German local politics. In the following sections, the extent to which Mainz satisfies the relevant selection criteria will be assessed. To this end it is necessary to briefly discuss the socio-economic structure of the city, the key characteristics of its party system prior to the election of the Greens to the local council and the nature of the data made available for the completion of the analysis.

#### 4.1.1. Mainz as a typical service sector city

Mainz is a medium-sized university city, located in the centre of the Federal Republic, where the River Main joins the River Rhine. With a resident population of 180,422 at the 1987 census, it occupies 32nd place in a list of West Germany's most populous cities. As the capital of the Rhineland Palatine, Mainz is the seat of the regional government, fulfilling important functions both as an administrative centre and as a regional centre for the Rhinehesse area. Being on the edge of the Rhine-Main area, Mainz is also greatly influenced by the rapid pace of social and economic change which has characterised this expanding region during recent decades (see Weber 1987).

In a comparison drawn between 17 West German cities of a similar population size, Mainz occupies an average position with regard to a series of social structural characteristics (Mainz 1987a:4f). With immigrants representing a proportion of 10.5% of the population, for example, the city is only slightly above the national average, and typical of communities on the periphery of a large conurbation (Mainz 1987a:4). The principal features which

distinguish Mainz from most other cities included in the cited comparison are its above average population density, its high proportion of population in working age (74.3% in the 15-64 age group) its correspondingly high levels of economic activity and its relatively high tax income (Mainz 1987a). Although Mainz has also been afflicted by a number of the social problems which have accompanied West Germany's fluctuating economic performance in the 1980s (e.g. Sozialbericht 1987; Sozialbericht 1988), it has been less badly affected than other towns and cities (Köth and Kolmer 1983:41). In 1987, for example, an unemployment rate of 7.0% in Mainz compared favourably with an average rate of 12.6% for the 17 cities included in the above mentioned analysis (Mainz 1987a).

In the context of this study, particular interest is accorded to the role played by the tertiary sector in the Mainz economy.

Table 4.1

Employees by economic sector in Mainz, 1975-1985

Year	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	All sectors (n)
1975	0.3	40.0	59.6	84,067
1980	0.3	36.8	63.0	89,722
1985	0.3	35.8	63.9	91,035
Change '75-'85	0.0	-4.2	+4.3	

Source: Mainz 1987b:26, calculations by author

Table 4.1 depicts the growing significance of employment in the

tertiary sector in Mainz. Whilst the proportion of the work force engaged in agriculture has remained static since the mid-1970s, there has been a marked decline in the proportion of employees engaged in the manufacturing sector (Köth and Kolmer 1983:41f). Between 1975 and 1985, the period which marked the rise of the West German Greens, the proportion of the Mainz work force employed in service industries rose by 4.3%, to a level of 63.9% (Mainz 1987b:26). With regard to the proportion of the work force engaged in the tertiary sector in similarly sized cities, Mainz again occupies an average position. Only other university cities such as Oldenburg (74.0%), Freiburg (69.2%), Göttingen (68.4%), Heidelberg (67.4%) have a significantly higher proportion of employees engaged in service industries (Mainz 1987a:18).

Table 4.2

Gross national product by economic sectors  
Mainz and West Germany, 1970-1984

Economic sector	Mainz	West Germany
Primary		
1970	0.5	3.8
1984	0.2	2.4
Change '70-'84	-0.3	-1.4
Secondary		
1970	48.4	58.2
1984	31.3	48.8
Change '70-'84	-17.1	-9.4
Tertiary		
1970	51.1	38.0
1984	68.5	48.8
Change '70-'84	+17.4	+10.8

Source: Mainz 1987b:30

A comparison of the contribution of the service sector to the economies of Mainz and West Germany as a whole demonstrates clearly that the economy of Mainz has shifted much more rapidly towards the service sector than the national economy (Table 4.2).

Despite the general growth in the income derived from the service sector in the Federal Republic, the rate of growth has been much faster in certain service industry centres. This feature also pertains to Mainz. Between 1970 and 1984 the tertiary sector in Mainz increased its contribution to the gross national product by 17.4%, compared with a national increase of 10.8% (Mainz 1987b:30).

In terms of its changing economic structure, therefore, Mainz can be regarded as being a typical service sector city. A second important aspect of the modernisation process to be addressed relates to the presence of a highly educated population.

As previously discussed, New Politics values are most widely found within the young, highly educated members of the new middle class (Baker et al 1981; Bürklin 1984). This group also corresponds to the Green Party's core electoral support (see section 3.3 above). As a university city, it can be anticipated that Mainz will satisfy the requirement of having a high proportion of citizens with an above average level of education. One means of demonstrating this feature, is to depict the development of the ratio of students to the population of Mainz as a whole (Table 4.3).



Table 4.3

Students in Mainz, 1975-1985

Year	Students	Population	Students per 1000 inhabitants
1975	20,777	185,304	112
1980	24,676	188,076	132
1985	26,681	185,840	143

Source: Mainz 1987b:3 and 22, calculations by author

Whilst there were only 112 students for every 1000 inhabitants of Mainz in 1975, in the 10 years which followed this figure increased by some 27.7% to 143 in 1985. In 1985 there was one student for every 7 Mainz inhabitants (Mainz 1987b:22).

Both in terms of its economic structure and its education status, Mainz can be regarded as representing a typical medium-sized university town. In this respect, therefore, Mainz can be judged to satisfy the first relevant criterion for the selection of a suitable case study locality.

#### 4.1.2. The established party system in Mainz

The second criterion for the selection of a case study community was the existence of an "established" local party system. The absence of notable forms of party political conflict was judged to present an ideal backdrop for an analysis of the full impact of the Greens' New Politics approach at local level.

Somewhat unusually for a relatively large city, Mainz had succeeded in maintaining a traditional party system for much of

the post-war period. In most key areas, such as budgetary and personnel matters, consensual decision-making practices were the norm. Despite signs of parliamentarisation in similar cities in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Mainz remained seemingly immune from the various elements of change prior to the election of the Greens to the local council in June 1984. The consensual decision-making patterns adopted by the three parties represented in the city council lie at the heart of the so-called Mainz model (*Mainzer Modell*). In the absence of a stable majority for either the SPD or CDU for much of the post-war period and with local party elites unwilling to become dependent upon a smaller alliance partner (the FDP), Mainz was governed by a Grand Coalition of both major parties. Whereas the SPD has always occupied the strategically dominant position of city mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*), both the CDU and FDP were represented in key posts on the council executive (*Stadtvorstand*). The political complexion of Mainz in the late 1950s, described by Chapun de Saintoigne (1961:199), essentially persisted into the mid-1980s. The five council committees of 1959 comprised 9 members each: 5 SPD, 3 CDU and 1 FDP. Significantly, two of the committees were chaired by SPD councillors, two by CDU councillors and one by an FDP councillor. Moreover, the council executive was composed of members of each of the parties, with the first deputy of the SPD *Oberbürgermeister* belonging to the CDU (Chapun de Saintoigne 1961:201).

Attempts by the youth wing of the Mainz SPD (*Jungsozialisten - Jusos*) in the 1970s to break the Mainz Model or even reduce the degree to which its party relied upon the Christian Democrats, in

line with the dual strategy adopted by the *Jusos* at their 1971 conference (Roth 1972), foundered when confronted by a structural right-wing majority in both the council group and local party organisation. Prior to the emergence of the Greens in Mainz, therefore, the major decisions in the city council were made in unison between the established political parties. This absence of any significant form of local opposition made Mainz an ideal subject for the analysis of the influence of the Greens' unique approach to local politics.

A further factor which lent itself to a study of the impact of the Greens in the local politics of Mainz was the fact that the party developed relatively late in this city. In the Rhineland Palatinate as a whole, the Greens stood in regional elections for the first time in 1983, failing to overcome the 5% hurdle with just 4.5% of the vote. In this region the Greens have remained relatively weak (Mez 1987:275; Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1990:281), given a socio-economic structure and religious profile which favours support for the Christian Democrats (Sarcinelli 1984; see also Heidger 1987). Only with the burgeoning of the Peace Movement in the early 1980s in the wake of the NATO twin-track decision did the Greens in the Rhineland Palatinate gain a strong foundation of support amongst certain sections of the regional population. In Mainz itself, the Greens stood in the local elections for the first time in 1984. At the previous local elections of 1979 there was no Green party organisation capable of competing for the vote.

With the Greens acting as a new element in a traditional local

party system, the potential for addressing the full effect of their New Local Politics approach upon established consensual practices was great. In particular the 1984 local election, presented the possibility of an alliance between the Greens and the SPD in the city council. The outcome of the red-green debate in Mainz was regarded as being an ideal means of analysing the effect of the Greens' New Politics upon an SPD divided between a New Politics left-wing and an Old Politics right-wing. In terms of its established party system and the potential for change, Mainz represented a suitable choice as a case study community.

#### 4.1.3. Access to source materials in Mainz

The final criterion of importance in the selection of a case study community was the degree of accessibility to relevant source materials. Such access was made possible during the course of an extended period of fieldwork in Mainz (31). It proved possible to make use of a unique range of papers, private correspondence and other documents, which for the main part have remained unpublished (32). The willingness of the Greens in Mainz to make important data available greatly facilitated the completion of the case study analysis. Although it was not possible to gain direct access to similar source materials from the other council groups in Mainz, the comprehensive nature of the Greens' own archive largely obviated the necessity of gaining information from alternative sources.

In addition to the accessibility of important internal party source documents, recourse was also made to the published minutes of Mainz city council sessions for the period of the proposed

analysis. The fact that the parliamentary initiatives of the four parties represented on the Mainz city council between 1984 and 1987 were held in a central data base ensured that a full analysis of the nature of the various parties' motions would be possible (see Chapter 6 for details).

#### 4.1.4. Summary: Mainz as a focus for study

As a result of this discussion, it is apparent that Mainz fully satisfied each of the three criteria judged important for the selection of a suitable focus for analysis. Firstly, it is a modern, service sector city with a social structure amenable to the values and issues of the New Politics. Secondly, it operated a traditional party system prior to the emergence of the Greens, which was characterised by consensual decision-making patterns. Finally, the selection of Mainz was simplified by the accessibility of relevant source materials for the completion of a detailed analysis.

#### 4.2. Methods of analysis

The purpose of the case study analysis will be to address general hypotheses relating to aspects of Green involvement in West German local politics on the basis of an interpretation of developments in Mainz in the period which followed the Greens' initial election to local council office. The hypotheses, developed in Chapter 3 on the basis of an analysis of general trends in Green local politics, pertain to the following areas: the ideological (New Politics) and confrontational orientation of Green local politics, the openly parliamentary styles adopted by Green local political activists, and tendencies towards an

institutionalisation of the Greens at local level. By examining the experience of Green participation in the politics of a particular locality, it was anticipated that new light could be cast upon the general changes which have affected local politics in the Federal Republic during the 1980s.

The case study analysis is to be divided into two broad sections. In the first section, in Chapter 5, the role of the Greens in the Mainz party system between 1984 and 1987 will be investigated. In examining the course of political events in Mainz during this period, in particular the controversy surrounding the question of a possible alliance between the Greens and the SPD on the city council, those hypotheses relating to the ideological nature of Green local politics and their confrontational approach to council activity will be tested. Whilst this analysis is essentially to be founded upon the source documentation outlined above, a number of other means of establishing a picture of the impact of the Greens in Mainz' local politics were utilised. During the course of fieldwork, a number of unstructured interviews were conducted with key participants in the city's local politics (33). By attending the regular meetings of the Green council group, vital background information was gathered (34). A number of sessions of the Mainz city council were also observed, with the aim of identifying differences in styles adopted by the representatives of the four council groups.

In Chapters 6 and 7 of the study, the parliamentary initiatives of the four parties represented on the Mainz city council during the period of analysis (July 1984-June 1987) will be addressed.

Comparisons will be drawn between the council motions of the Greens and those of the other parties represented on the council. By utilising both quantitative and qualitative techniques, which are to be outlined in the relevant chapters, the analysis of the motions was intended as a means of depicting the extent to which the Greens' motions differed from those of the established political parties. Whether any differences which emerge from such an analysis correspond to the existence of a New-Old Local Politics dimension in the Mainz party system will be the focus for further discussion.

#### 4.3. Summary

In this chapter, the criteria for the selection of a suitable case study community for the completion of a detailed analysis of the Greens role in West German local politics were discussed. In terms of its social and economic structure, its traditional party system and the availability of the necessary source materials, Mainz fully satisfied the relevant criteria.

The chapter concluded with a brief description of the methods to be adopted in the case study analysis. A more detailed appraisal of the techniques utilised in the study will be made in the relevant sections below. In general, the purpose of the case study chapters is to test hypotheses, developed in Chapter 3, on the basis of the development of the Mainz party system between 1984 and 1987.

## Chapter 5

### The Greens and the Mainz party system 1984-1987

In this chapter attention is to be focused upon the strategic role adopted by the Greens in the Mainz city council between 1984 and 1987. The chapter is divided into two sections. A brief analysis of the result of the 1984 local election in the city inevitably provides the background for subsequent developments in the local party system (section 5.1.). In a discussion of the course of the debate between the SPD and Green Party council groups in Mainz, reasons will be given for the inability of the parties to reach agreement over the adoption of a common strategy for the period under analysis (section 5.2.). It will be suggested that the New Local Politics approach favoured by the Greens could not be reconciled with the more established local political practices of the inner-party majority of the SPD.

#### 5.1. The 1984 local election in Mainz

The local elections of June 1984 represented a significant turning point in Mainz' local politics. With the Greens gaining 9.2% of the vote, it was the only time since the first local elections in Rhineland Palatinate of 1952 that a fourth party was able to gain representation on the Mainz city council (Table 5.1). Previously, only the NPD had posed a challenge to the established parties in Mainz, failing to breach the 5% hurdle in 1969 when they secured 4.6% of the vote.

In many ways, Mainz was not an ideal source of support for the Greens in terms of the existence of an alternative milieu (Veen 1989). The makings of an alternative sector, in the form of



alternative cafés, bookshops and workshops, are only evident in some central parts of the city (Neustadt-Süd) and in a few suburbs (e.g. Gonsenheim). In this respect, Mainz was by no means comparable to the larger cities of the Federal Republic with their highly developed alternative forms of culture (e.g. Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg). Nor could the Mainz Greens draw upon the presence of a university-based, alternative culture, such as exists in the towns of Freiburg, Münster and Tübingen.

Table 5.1

Local election results in Mainz, 1952-1984

Year	CDU	SPD	FDP	Greens	Other
1952	32.8	43.2	17.3	-	6.7
1956	35.0	51.9	11.3	-	1.8
1960	37.8	45.8	13.7	-	2.7
1964	38.2	51.9	10.0	-	-
1969	38.0	49.2	8.3	-	4.6
1974	45.0	44.1	8.4	-	2.4
1979	42.5	48.1	8.0	-	1.4
1984	40.0	43.7	6.1	9.2	0.4

Source: Ausschuß Wahlforschung 1987:151

Nevertheless, on the basis of their previous electoral performance in Mainz, it was widely anticipated that the Greens would gain council representation in 1984 (Table 5.2). Only the fact that the party was entitled to send five councillors to the newly constituted chamber came as a surprise to local political commentators.

The electoral data presented in Table 5.2 suggest that the success of the Greens in the 1984 local election resulted more

from the low electoral turnout than from a positive expression of support for the Greens' programme. Although a large number of Mainz voters were undoubtedly tempted to vote Green in order to articulate their opposition to the continuation of the Mainz Model (see Chapter 4), the Green Party's level of support in the 1984 local election was not significantly greater than it had been in previous elections. When treated as a proportion of the entire electorate, the Green vote of 6.4% in this election was not much different from that recorded at earlier federal and regional elections.

Table 5.2

## Green electoral participation in Mainz, 1979-87

Election	Votes	%	% of all voters
EW 1979	2,767	3.1	2.3
KW 1979	-	-	-
BW 1980	1,878	1.8	1.6
BW 1983	7,518	6.9	6.1
LW 1983	7,053	6.5	5.8
EW 1984	8,417	9.7	6.7
KW 1984	7,959	9.2	6.4
BW 1987	14,557	13.2	11.1
LW 1987	9,949	10.1	7.6

EW - European Elections

KW - Local Elections

BW - Federal Elections

LW - Regional Elections

Source: Amt für Statistik und Stadtentwicklung Mainz

The structure of Green Party support in the 1984 local election in Mainz corresponds fully with that outlined in Chapter 3 with regard to other West German towns and cities (section 3.3). The highest levels of Green support were recorded amongst the

youngest age cohorts (Table 5.3). The heavy losses of the SPD in the 25-35 age group (~14%) suggest that this party was most acutely affected by the Green candidature. However, a comparison of the representative electoral statistics for the 1984 and 1979 local elections, indicates that the Greens gained the support of former voters of each of the established parties in Mainz (Mainz 1984b).

Table 5.3

Party support by gender and age groups in Mainz, 1979-1984

Local election/ age groups	CDU			SPD			FDP			Greens			Other		
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
1984															
18-25	30.0	25.9	28.1	43.8	45.0	44.4	4.5	5.8	5.1	21.4	23.3	22.3	0.2	0.0	0.1
25-35	27.6	27.9	27.7	41.9	42.6	42.2	4.0	4.6	4.3	25.3	23.5	24.5	1.2	1.4	1.3
35-45	38.3	39.0	38.7	43.1	45.2	44.2	7.5	6.8	7.1	10.2	8.6	9.3	0.9	0.4	0.7
45-60	41.3	40.8	41.0	44.6	46.6	45.6	9.3	8.7	9.0	4.1	3.7	3.9	0.7	0.2	0.4
60 and above	47.0	49.5	48.5	41.9	43.6	42.9	7.2	5.2	6.0	2.9	1.5	2.0	0.9	0.3	0.5
All	38.7	40.7	39.8	43.1	44.6	43.9	7.0	6.4	6.7	10.4	7.9	9.0	0.8	0.4	0.6
1979															
18-25	35.3	32.9	34.2	51.2	53.2	52.1	9.2	11.8	10.4	-	-	-	4.3	2.2	3.3
25-35	30.5	34.2	32.4	57.8	54.8	56.2	8.9	9.9	9.4	-	-	-	2.8	1.1	1.9
35-45	43.1	43.6	43.3	46.9	45.5	46.2	9.6	10.5	10.1	-	-	-	0.5	0.4	0.5
45-60	40.8	42.1	41.5	49.2	49.8	49.5	8.8	7.9	8.3	-	-	-	1.2	0.3	0.7
60 and above	44.8	47.1	46.2	46.6	46.6	46.6	7.3	5.6	6.2	-	-	-	1.2	0.7	0.9
All	40.4	42.5	41.5	49.3	48.7	49.0	8.6	8.1	8.3	-	-	-	1.7	0.7	1.1
Change 1979-1984															
18-25	-5.3	-7.0	-6.1	-7.4	-8.2	-7.7	-4.7	-6.0	-5.3	+21.4	+23.3	+22.3	-4.1	-2.2	-3.2
25-35	-2.9	-6.3	-4.7	-15.9	-12.2	-14.0	-4.9	-5.3	-5.1	+25.3	+23.5	+24.5	-1.6	+0.3	-0.6
35-45	-4.8	-4.6	-4.6	-3.8	-0.3	-2.0	-2.1	-3.7	-3.0	+10.2	+8.6	+9.3	+0.4	+0.0	+0.2
45-60	+0.5	-1.3	-1.3	-4.6	-3.2	-3.9	+0.5	+0.8	+0.7	+4.1	+3.7	+3.9	-0.5	-0.1	-0.3
60 and above	+2.2	+2.4	+2.3	-4.7	-3.0	-3.7	-0.1	-0.4	-0.2	+2.9	+1.5	+2.0	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4
All	-1.7	-1.8	-1.7	-6.2	-4.1	-5.1	-1.6	-1.7	-1.6	+10.4	+7.9	+9.0	-0.9	-0.3	-0.5

Source: Mainz 1984: no page number

Table 5.4

Party vote in Mainz boroughs, local election 1984

Borough	CDU		SPD		FDP		Greens		DKP	
	1984	'79-84	1984	'79-84	1984	'79-84	1984	'79-84	1984	'79-84
Altstadt-Süd	46.7	-1.3	40.4	-4.6	3.6	-1.2	8.7	+8.7	0.7	-1.4
Altstadt-Nord	37.0	-3.2	47.1	-4.7	4.6	-2.0	10.5	+10.5	0.8	-0.6
Neustadt-Süd	36.4	-2.9	47.8	-4.9	4.4	-1.7	10.3	+10.3	1.0	-1.0
Neustadt-Nord	28.6	-3.5	59.8	-1.6	2.5	-2.1	8.4	+8.4	0.7	-1.2
Oberstadt-Süd	42.3	-1.9	41.4	-3.2	7.7	-2.2	8.3	+8.3	0.3	-1.0
Oberstadt-West/ Zahlbach/Uni	38.0	-3.9	46.7	-2.2	5.3	-2.2	9.5	+9.5	0.6	-1.1
Wallstraße/ Hartenberg	41.1	-1.5	43.2	-4.0	5.2	-3.6	10.2	+10.2	0.3	-1.1
Mombach	39.6	-1.9	47.5	-2.7	4.4	-2.5	8.0	+8.0	0.4	-1.0
Gonsenheim	44.2	-3.2	38.6	-4.0	6.3	-2.5	10.6	+10.6	0.3	-0.9
Finthen	42.0	-1.5	40.3	-5.0	9.2	-0.7	8.2	+8.2	0.3	-1.0
Bretzenheim	40.3	-3.0	42.4	-4.1	6.8	-1.9	9.9	+9.9	0.7	-0.9
Marienborn	38.4	-4.7	47.5	-1.6	4.2	-2.1	9.7	+9.7	0.2	-1.3
Lerchenberg	35.9	-2.7	41.2	-5.5	12.0	-1.5	10.7	+10.7	0.2	-1.0
Drais	43.8	-8.6	31.0	-3.5	15.5	+2.6	9.5	+9.5	0.2	+0.0
Hechtsheim	47.5	-1.5	37.6	-5.0	5.7	-1.7	9.0	+9.0	0.2	-0.8
Ebersheim	53.9	-4.3	33.2	-2.4	5.3	-0.5	7.4	+7.4	0.1	-0.3
Weisenau	35.3	-1.1	52.2	-4.4	5.1	-1.0	7.2	+7.2	0.1	-0.8
Laubenheim	41.3	+5.0	41.3	-7.1	8.6	-5.6	8.7	+8.7	0.2	-0.9
Mainz	40.4	-2.1	43.7	-4.4	6.1	-1.9	9.2	+9.2	0.4	-1.0

Source: Mainz 1984a

This latter finding is supported by a more localised analysis of the results of the 1984 local election in Mainz. In only two Mainz boroughs could any of the three established political parties increase their 1979 proportion of the vote, whilst the Greens gained votes throughout the city (Table 5.4). The SPD lost support in every one of Mainz' 18 boroughs and the CDU and FDP increased their share of the vote in just one borough each.

Table 5.4 shows no clear correlation between Green gains and the losses of any one of the established political parties. The Green

Party vote was well below average in the SPD strongholds of Neustadt-Nord, Weisenau and Mombach and in the CDU stronghold of Ebersheim. With regard to FDP support, the Greens did well in the Lerchenberg borough, in which the FDP recorded its highest proportion of the vote, but also in Altstadt-Nord in which FDP support was below average. The major factors which appear to have influenced the level of Green support in the various boroughs stem from the boroughs' unique social structures (see Köth and Kolmar 1983:19; Erfurth-Hirtz 1985). The Greens performed best in certain middle-class suburbs (Lerchenberg, Gonsenheim) and those more central districts characterised by the presence of cheaper forms of housing (Neustadt-Süd, Altstadt-Nord). However, in the working class suburbs of Mombach and Weisenau, the Green vote was below average. This also ties in with social ecological analyses of local voting behaviour (see section 3.3.).

For an understanding of the development of the local party system in the period following the 1984 election, it is essential to stress the implications of the new political constellation brought about by the vote (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5

Council representation in Mainz, 1979-1989

Electoral Period	CDU	SPD	FDP	Greens	All
1979-1984	26	29	4	-	59
1984-1989	24	27	3	5	59

Source: Amt für Statistik und Stadtentwicklung Mainz

As the largest party on the Mainz city council, the SPD had previously been dependent upon the support of the Christian Democrats to guarantee their prime position. To rely on the support of the small FDP council group was regarded by the right-wing majority in the SPD as introducing an element of uncertainty into proceedings in the council. This derived from the traditionally weak cohesiveness of the SPD *Fraktion*. Since the first *Jusos* gained council representation in 1974 there had been an element of inner-party opposition to the continuation of the *Mainzer Modell*. However, as long as there was no suitable alternative coalition partner, the *Jusos* were unable to break the long established link with the CDU. In 1984 a new choice was opened up to the SPD by the election of the Greens. Together the SPD and the Greens could technically have exercised control over the development of local policy in Mainz for the duration of the 1984-1989 legislative period. For the SPD left-wing this possibility presented a seemingly ideal opportunity of separating the two major parties on the city council once and for all.

The fact that the SPD and the Green Party ultimately failed to reach agreement in Mainz over the adoption of a common strategy for the period under review requires closer attention. In the following section a number of possible reasons for the failure of a potential red-green alliance in Mainz will be cited. In particular, it will be argued that the Old Politics predispositions of the majority of SPD councillors in Mainz could not be reconciled with the New Politics approach of the city's Green council group. It will also be suggested, however, that the

manner in which the Greens sought to participate in local political affairs between 1984 and 1987 reduced the effectiveness of their work in the council chamber.

### 5.2. The Greens and the SPD in Mainz

In Chapter 2 a contrast was drawn between the ideal-typical New Local Politics approach of the Greens and the Old Local Politics approach which has characterised West German politics at local level in the past. Three main sources of potential conflict arising from a realignment along a New-Old Local Politics dimension were identified. These exist in the competing styles of the Greens and the established political parties at local level, in differing interpretations of the scope of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law and in contrasting views held of democratic decision-making structures (direct democracy v. representative democracy). A further conflict in terms of competing agendas will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

In charting the course of the relationship between the Greens and the SPD in Mainz in the three years following the Greens' election to the city council in 1984, the contrasting New and Old Local Politics approaches are to be brought to the fore. This will provide a basis for the testing of two hypotheses pertaining to Green local politics, which were developed in Chapter 3. Firstly, it was argued that Green local politics gives rise to conflict as a result of its New Politics orientation. Secondly, it was suggested that the parliamentary styles adopted by the Greens, which characterise the New Local Politics approach, run counter to established, collegial forms of local political

behaviour. This leads to a politicisation of all aspects of local council activity in the Federal Republic.

However, before commencing the case study analysis, it is necessary to identify a number of potential difficulties with regard to the operationalisation of the New Politics model at local level.

One major fault with existing research on the New Politics has been its tendency to treat political parties at homogeneous bodies, representing either a New Politics or an Old Politics dimension. This assumption is highly problematical when one considers the prevailing political situation in West Germany.

Evidence from a number of studies shows the dilemma faced by the SPD, for example, with regard to the new conflict dimension (e.g. Schmitt 1987). The party cannot be regarded simply as a force of the Old Politics. In practice, the SPD is divided between a traditional Old Politics oriented right-wing and a New Politics oriented left-wing. This cleavage, the so-called modernisation crisis, runs through the heart of the SPD party organisation (Feist and Krieger 1987; see also Bürklin et al 1984). A comparison of local party organisations in Hesse illustrated the dilemma faced by the SPD (Scharf 1989).

Past assertions that the Greens are to be categorised simply as a New Politics party (Poguntke 1987a and 1989; Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 1989 and 1990) should also be treated cautiously. In Chapter 3, the highly heterogeneous nature of the West German Greens was discussed and reference made to the party's internal



divisions between competing factions sharing conflicting ideologies (see Murphy and Roth 1987; Murphy 1986; Klotzsch and Stöss 1986). The need to differentiate between different types of Green party and competing factions is especially relevant at local level, where the Greens can be represented by groups spanning the whole political spectrum. Both conservative ecological groupings and more radical rainbow lists are still to be regarded as Green. In terms of the New Politics, it is necessary to locate the various Green factions on the New-Old Politics dimension. Although a large number of factions exist within the Greens, for the purposes of this study it is necessary to place only the two factions of relevance in Mainz: the Fundamentalists and Realists. The party's Fundamentalist (radical ecologist) wing represents an extreme example of a New Politics grouping, rejecting any form of cooperation with established political forces and laying emphasis upon the adoption of radical democratic organisational structures. The Greens' Realist faction should be perceived in terms of its more moderate New Politics approach, favouring alliances with other political parties and encouraging the adoption of representative democratic structures.

With regard to the analysis of the relationship between the Greens and the SPD in Mainz, the role played by factions in both parties is crucial. Attention has already been drawn to divisions within the Mainz SPD. Significantly, the Mainz Greens were also divided, essentially between its Realist and Fundamentalist wings. It can be anticipated that such divisions would influence to a greater or lesser extent the course of the red-green debate

in the city's local politics. In Mainz, the most stark contrast could be expected to exist between the New Politics oriented Fundamentalist wing of the Greens and the Old Politics oriented right-wing of the SPD. Conversely, the most likely sources of support for the creation of a red-green alliance in Mainz would exist in the more moderate Realist faction of the Greens and the New Politics oriented left-wing of the SPD. The fact that the latter groups were in the minority in their respective parties between 1984 and 1987 did not bode well for the establishment of an alliance between the Greens and the SPD on the Mainz city council.

This represents the background to a discussion of political events in Mainz between June 1984 and July 1987. Three distinct phases in the relationship between the Greens and the SPD can be discerned. In Phase 1, the opening stages of the relationship will be addressed (section 5.2.1.). The second phase encompasses the key turning point in the red-green debate in Mainz - the passing of the city budget in the winter of 1985/1986 (section 5.2.2.). The inability of the two parties to reach agreement on this major policy area led to the re-establishment of the Mainz Model and the exclusion of the Greens from positions of authority for the remainder of the legislative period. Finally, Phase 3 was characterised by the effects of the collapse of a potential alliance between the Greens and the SPD (section 5.2.3.).

#### 5.2.1. Phase 1: The developing relationship

During the first year of Green council representation in Mainz, the city's various political forces sought to define their

positions with regard to the major local political issues. Above all, this entailed a clarification of the relationship between the Greens and the SPD, since the respective strategies of the CDU and FDP *Fraaktionen* required little modification in the newly convened council. Having lost both electoral support and council seats, the aim of both the CDU and FDP was primarily to ensure the stability of the *Mainzer Modell* and thereby secure the continuation of their influence upon the development of Mainz' local politics.

The problems faced by the SPD and Greens were of a different nature to those of the Christian and Free Democrats. A stable alternative to the established parties' Grand Coalition could only be found in the creation of a red-green alliance in Mainz. However, for such an alliance to come about, it would be necessary to overcome significant internal opposition in both the Green Party and the SPD to the adoption of a joint strategy.

In this respect, it should be recognised that the main strategic function of any local political alliance must be to reach consensus on two areas of overriding significance: the selection of personnel to fill council executive positions and the passing of the city budget (see Naßmacher 1989). For any alliance between the Greens and the SPD in Mainz to be successful, these two issues would have to be tackled to the parties' mutual satisfaction.

Even in the early months of the new legislative period, the extent to which the Greens and the SPD were at cross-purposes

with regard to the formulation of a joint strategy on both policy and personnel matters was evident. Whilst the Greens were most keen to reach agreement on policy issues, the SPD was primarily interested in establishing a consensus on personnel matters. This fundamental divergence in the aims of the two parties dictated the development of the subsequent relationship between the Greens and the SPD. On the one hand, the Greens were only willing to discuss personnel issues on the basis of a common programme, totally rejecting any participation of their own in the council executive. On the other, despite the SPD's willingness to discuss policy matters on a one-off basis, it would only do so if such discussion did not impinge upon decisions regarding the appointment of council executive personnel. Indeed, a fateful resolution passed by the SPD party organisation in Mainz in October 1984 expressly restricted the room for manoeuvre of the party's council group by forbidding the establishment of any long-term agreements with any party on policy matters (35).

A discussion of certain events during the first 9 months of the new council period serves to demonstrate the effect of such contrasting strategies upon the development of Mainz' local politics in the first phase of this analysis. Whilst the SPD and Greens managed to reach agreement on limited aspects of policy on an ad hoc basis, it proved impossible to agree upon a common strategy in more significant areas.

The first signs of attempted agreement between the Greens and the SPD came at the neighbourhood council level. In the most populous Mainz borough (Gonsenheim), for example, the SPD and Greens

jointly agreed on the election of an SPD *Ortsvorsteher* (chairman of the neighbourhood council). The local election of 1984 gave the Greens the balance of power in this borough. Agreement was reached following a series of public meetings, without much inner party controversy emerging on either side. In hindsight, the course of this loose alliance should have alerted the Greens to the SPD's local strategy. Having secured the election of their representative to local office, the SPD in Gonsenheim allowed the alliance with the Greens to fade into disuse (36). The experience of this alliance served to reinforce the attitude of Green Fundamentalists towards the SPD, given the lack of positive achievements which resulted. The modest budget of the neighbourhood council and its limited competences ensured that the first red-green alliance in Mainz aroused little attention.

In the city council, agreement was reached in principle on various important policy measures. The declaration of Mainz as a nuclear-free zone, resulted from a joint initiative of the SPD and Greens. Both parties backed the introduction of a new transport policy for the city, which laid greater emphasis upon public transport than upon private transport and support was given to the establishment of a partnership link with the Nicaraguan town of Diriamba (see Chapter 7 for details).

The first real test of a potential red-green alliance in Mainz as a whole came in a further area of policy with the supplementary budget (*Nachtragshaushalt*) in the autumn of 1984. A series of meetings was held between the Greens and SPD with a view to making changes to the existing budget. After an initial meeting,

the SPD indicated their intent to make changes to the budget in key policy areas, thus laying the foundation for a joint agreement on the 1986/87 double budget:

Dabei soll es und kann es nicht darum gehen, den bereits verabschiedeten Haushalt in seiner Gesamtstruktur zu verändern, sondern - im Rahmen eines noch festzustellenden finanziellen Spielraums - (...) notwendige Verbesserungen zu ermöglichen oder auch bereits die Weichen für den Doppelhaushalt 1986/87 zu stellen (37).

However, a number of barriers to a potential agreement between the Greens and the SPD were apparent. The Fundamentalist wing of the Greens was in full control of the party organisation. Extracts from a discussion paper prepared for the meeting of the Mainz Green Party by councillor Alf Haenlein illustrated the gulf which existed between the approaches of the two parties:

Der Vorschlag, einen Nachtragshaushalt zu machen, (...) hätte von jeder Ratspartei kommen können. Allein entscheidend sind die politischen Inhalte. (...) die SPD Politik der "wechselnden Mehrheiten" [sollte] nicht von uns toleriert werden. Ein punktuellles Zusammengehen (...) darf nur in Frage kommen, wenn über die gesamte Wahlperiode tatsächlich keine Sachentscheidungen von der SPD mit Hilfe der Bürgerlichen durchgedrückt werden, die im Widerspruch zu GRÜNER Kommunalpolitik stehen (35).

In general, the fundamentalist critique sought to emphasise the similarities between the established parties rather than to differentiate between the SPD on the one hand and the CDU and FDP on the other. According to Haenlein, any agreement between the Greens and the Social Democrats on a joint strategy could only be reached if the SPD withdrew from the Mainz Model once and for all:

Wir müssen der SPD klar machen, daß es keine Fortsetzung der alten Politik nun mit den GRÜNEN geben kann. Wir müssen klar machen, daß wir uns nicht als "Öko-FDP" behandeln lassen werden (39).

As a result of the internal discussion over the supplementary budget, the Green Party resolved to enter into talks with the SPD only on condition that the Social Democrats declined to elect CDU or FDP members to the council executive (40). Given the unlikelihood of such a concession being gained from the SPD, the Greens decided to put forward their own budget. However, by the time this had been achieved, the SPD had sought and secured backing for their own supplementary budget in the council meeting of 12 December 1984.

During this first phase of Green involvement in Mainz' local politics discussions with the SPD on policy matters were possible. However, given the conflicting strategies outlined above, it was not surprising that the most serious conflicts between the two parties emerged with regard to personnel matters in respect of the appointment of new members to the council executive (*Stadtvorstand*).

The composition of the council executive in Mainz is stipulated in the city's constitution (*Hauptsatzung*). In addition to the city mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*), it comprises 5 full-time executive members (*hauptamtliche Beigeordneten*) and 2 honorary members (*ehrenamtliche Beigeordneten*) (see Hess and Hundertmark 1987). As previously noted, the foundation of the Mainz Model existed in the occupation of these executive positions according to the relative strengths of the parties represented in the council chamber. The Greens' aim of bringing about the end of the Mainz Model was only to be achieved by securing the withdrawal of the SPD from the established consensus of over 30 years

standing.

In this major respect, the SPD majority proved unwilling to abandon its adherence to the tradition of a consensus-oriented local politics. Instead, the Social Democrats set store by keeping to the agreements made with the other established parties on personnel matters prior to the 1984 local election.

The debate over the election of a CDU representative, Josef Hofmann, to the position of honorary executive member in February 1985 was indicative of the gulf which existed between the Green and SPD strategies. The course of the discussion is to be presented here as a means of symbolising the contrasting approaches and styles of the Greens and the established parties in Mainz.

The Christian Democrats had made it clear to the SPD that support for their candidate for the executive post was vital for the continuation of CDU cooperation in the executive committee. Despite the opposition of 10 left-wing SPD councillors, the inner-party majority was unwilling to resist the CDU's demands. The fact that the SPD felt obliged to concede to the CDU request on this occasion presented the most obvious indication that the SPD was unwilling to relinquish its adherence to the Mainz Model. A certain poignancy was added to the heated discussion in the council session of 26 February 1985 by the fact that the council had voted unanimously to keep the position vacant shortly after the 1984 election. Extracts from the minutes of the relevant council meeting illustrate the fundamental differences which characterised the approaches of the Greens and the



representatives of the other political parties in Mainz.

In justifying their support for the CDU candidate, SPD council group leader Eckhard Pick cited the 3 main reasons for the party's strategy. Firstly, the CDU's decision to support the SPD nominee for the position of mayor upon the retirement from office of Mayor Jockel Fuchs:

Dies sichert uns ein Höchstmaß an Entscheidungsfreiheit. Die SPD kann in Ruhe und Gelassenheit ihren Kandidaten bestimmen, ohne Pressionen von außen (CM 26.02.85) (41).

Secondly, Pick pointed out that no fixed agreements had been made with regard to policy matters: *"Die SPD kann wie bisher eine eigenständige, unabhängige Sachpolitik auf der Grundlage ihres Wahlprogramms verfolgen"*. Finally, the question of possible alternatives was addressed. Without specifically mentioning the Greens, Pick suggested that the failure of the SPD to support the CDU candidate would lead to a political crisis in Mainz:

Eine andere Entscheidung hätte, und dies mußten wir den Aussagen der CDU entnehmen, zu einer schweren politischen Krise in Mainz führen müssen mit unübersehbaren Risiken. (CM 26.02.85).

The election of the CDU candidate presented an ideal opportunity for the Greens to express their opposition to the established practices of Mainz' local politics. A contribution criticising both the CDU and SPD was made by Councillor Haenlein. First the CDU was addressed:

Sie (die CDU - T.S) haben es nie geschafft, den Mut aufzubringen, einmal wirklich Opposition zu sein. Sie haben sich immer durch das Mainzer Modell, also diese berühmt berüchtigte Allparteienkoalition, die Macht erschlichen. (..) Sie vergeben Beigeordnetenstellen wie mittelalterliche Pfründe...

This was followed by a criticism of the strategy of the SPD and the speech of SPD group leader Pick:

... in Wirklichkeit ist die SPD erpressbar. (...) was Sie betreiben mit der Allparteienkoalition ist die fortgesetzte Verfälschung des Wählerwillens. Seit Jahrzehnten wählen Sie sich gegenseitig wieder. Ohne Ansehen der Person und oft, ohne daß irgendwelche öffentlichen Gespräche stattgefunden haben. (...) Es ist nur gut, daß die GRÜNEN jetzt da sind, jetzt gibt es andere Töne. Wir (...) haben lange darüber diskutiert, wie wir uns in Zukunft verhalten sollen und werden es auch von dem Verlauf des heutigen Tages abhängig machen. Denn wir haben ein sehr ambivalentes Verhältnis zu der Arbeit hier im Rat, wir stehen außerhalb dieses Machtclubs und wollen auch nicht im Machtclub sein (CM 26.02.85).

In the ensuing debate, Councillor Haenlein clashed on a number of occasions with Mayor Fuchs over the Greens' assessment of Mainz' recent political history. This led to a closing of the SPD ranks around their mayor and the delivery of a personal statement by Councillor Pick on behalf of the SPD *Fraktion*:

Ich möchte betonen, daß ich es für unerträglich halte, wie vorhin in den Beiträgen der GRÜNEN die Person des Oberbürgermeisters verunglimpft worden ist. Ich halte es für unakzeptabel, daß eine Persönlichkeit, die mehr als 20 Jahre die Politik in dieser Stadt und die Politik für den Bürger bestimmt hat und mitbestimmt hat, in dieser Weise herabgesetzt wird. Ich glaube, es entspricht nicht dem bisherigen Stil in diesem Haus, daß man so mit dem politischen Gegner umgeht. (...) Hiermit scheint ein neuer Stil in dieses Haus eingekehrt zu sein, er entspringt offenbar aus einer besonderen Anlage der GRÜNEN, nämlich zu glauben, daß sie die alleinige Wahrheit gepachtet haben (CM 26.02.85).

For the Fundamentalist majority within the Greens, the discussion about the election of Dr. Hofmann to the council executive served to confirm their suspicions (and hopes) that the SPD was unwilling to break with tradition. In effect, they succeeded in their aim of manoeuvring the party into the political sidelines, as regards key decisions over personnel matters. The only points on which agreement could now be sought with the SPD were linked

to policy issues. Similarly, the forces within the SPD most strongly opposed to any form of alliance with the Greens were also strengthened by the events of February 1985. A joint statement by Mayor Fuchs, council group leader Pick and local party chairman Anton Diehl reaffirmed the party majority's belief that no agreement could be reached with the Greens:

Wer die Erfolge der Mainzer Kommunalpolitik in den zurückliegenden Jahrzehnten und hierbei besonders die Leistungen von SPD-Oberbürgermeistern und SPD-Stadtratsfraktion in unsachlicher und diffamierender Weise abqualifiziert, wie dies die Grünen in der Stadtratssitzung getan haben, stellt sich selbst ins politische Abseits (42).

By illustrating the course of the debate in detail, it is possible to demonstrate the gap which was to be overcome, were the Greens and the SPD to reach agreement over the dual budget for 1986/1987 in the autumn of 1985. In this respect, the 10 SPD councillors who had abstained from the vote over the election of a new executive member occupied a key role. For a consensus to be established, the balance of power within the respective party organisations would have to change in favour of the more moderate forces.

Indeed, a number of important political events beyond the boundaries of Mainz served to slightly alter the balance in favour of an agreement between the SPD and the Greens. In March 1985, for example, the local elections in Hesse had led to the creation of a number of red-green alliances in that state's local communities (Bullmann 1987; Scharf 1989). Of particular relevance for Mainz was the election result in neighbouring Wiesbaden. In the Hessian state capital, CDU Mayor Jentsch was voted out of

office by a red-green majority and replaced with SPD nominee Achim Exner. Whilst the Mainz Greens sought to avoid participation in the council executive, the Wiesbaden Greens assumed responsibility for the development of the city's cultural policy. The existence of a series of local red-green alliances in Hesse represented a significant factor behind the establishment of West Germany's first ever red-green coalition at regional level (see Scharf 1989). The gradual shift within the Green Party towards a more realistic position and thereby towards the adoption of the red-green strategy was encouraged in early 1985 by the result of two regional elections. The poor showing of the Greens in the Saarland and North Rhine Westphalia was directly attributed to the fundamentalist stances adopted by the regional party organisations in the two states (Kimmel 1985; Feist and Krieger 1985).

Despite the fact that the general context tended to favour an alliance between the Greens and the SPD in Mainz, the discussion about the election of the executive member demonstrated the gulf to be overcome were the 1985 budget talks to succeed.

#### 5.2.2. Phase 2: The 1986/1987 budget debate

This section addresses the extent to which the New Local Politics of the Mainz Greens conflicted with the traditional local political approach of the majority of the city's SPD council group. The analysis is to be undertaken upon the basis of the conflicting styles and approaches adopted by the parties during the debate over the 1986/87 budget (*Doppelhaushalt*). The outcome of this debate played a significant role in the

subsequent development of the Mainz party system, influencing all future personnel and policy matters in the local council.

The inner-party debate over the 1986/87 budget officially began for the Greens in March 1985, a full 9 months before the council meeting at which it was to be passed. Such was the importance accorded to the discussion, that this represented one of the few occasions during the period under analysis on which the council working group (*Fraktionsgruppe*) regularly carried local political matters into the meetings of the local party organisation. In a series of meetings of both the *Fraktionsgruppe* and the party membership, the Greens sought to clarify the strategy to be adopted in the talks envisaged with the SPD. Despite the repeated misgivings of party Realists, the Greens opted to enter into discussion with the Social Democrats over a list of minimum demands, which would have to be accommodated were Green support for the budget to be forthcoming (43).

It might appear surprising to onlookers that such a strategy could be adopted by the Mainz Greens, given its unmistakable similarity with that practiced so unsuccessfully by the Hamburg *Grün-Alternative-Liste* (GAL) in their talks with the SPD in the summer of 1982 (see Beyer 1983:36f; Grupp 1986). In Hamburg the Greens' utopian demands could not be reconciled with the SPD's more moderate stance, leading ultimately to the holding of new regional elections and a sharp decline in the Green vote (Müller-Rommel 1983b). An explanation of the tactics adopted by the Mainz Greens can be found in the prominent position held within the local party organisation by a small group of

*Öko-Sozialisten*, whose regional stronghold was to be found in Hamburg (see Ebermann and Trampert 1985). The tactics favoured by this inner-party faction are not significantly different to those of the more radical Fundamentalists (see Murphy and Roth 1987).

With regard to the budget discussion in Mainz, a wide range of possible minimum demands were initially raised by local Green Party members and councillors. Under discussion were such topics as the refusal to grant additional land for (US) military purposes, a rejection of city involvement in new media technologies (cable and satellite television), a de-privatisation of certain local services, an increase in local business taxation, a ban on the construction of additional car parks in the city centre, a freezing of electricity prices for domestic users, a guaranteeing of the future of cultural facilities and a general increase in the proportion of the city budget set aside for environmental and social purposes (44). However, not only budgetary matters were of interest to the Greens. A unanimously agreed resolution at the local party meeting of 2 May 1985 outlined the Greens' aim to link budget discussions to a broader political context:

Die Mitgliederversammlung stellt fest, daß eine Zustimmung zu einer städtischen Haushaltssatzung (..) immer eine Form der längerfristigen Kooperation mit anderen Ratsfraktionen darstellt.

Dieser Umstand erfordert allerdings eine Einbettung der Haushaltssatzung in einen politischen Zusammenhang, der in anderen wichtigen sozialen und ökologischen Fragen einen Minimalkonsens zulassen muß.

D.h.: eine Zustimmung der Grünen zum Doppelhaushalt 86/87 (..) setzt voraus, daß auch zu anderen politischen Themen (..) Entschließungen verabschiedet werden, die von uns mitgetragen werden können (45).

In the ensuing weeks, the Greens devoted their energies to resolving internal differences of opinion over the approach to be adopted and to clarifying the demands to be regarded as the minimum platform (46). In a press statement, issued on 30 August 1985, the Fraktionsgruppe finally published a list of minimum demands, which covered the five areas of social policy, energy and the environment, women, peace issues and cultural policy. In order to avoid increasing the city's debt burden, all necessary expenditure increases arising from the Greens' proposals were to be met by a substantial rise in the rate of the local business tax (*Gewerbesteuer*).

The catalogue of demands provided a basis on which the Greens then sought talks with the SPD *Fraktion* (47). Following the failure of initial talks in October, the first real discussions between the relevant parties occurred in November 1985, at the Greens' invitation. In a letter to the SPD council group, the Greens outlined the subject areas to be discussed and the manner in which the talks were to be conducted. Working groups, meeting in public, were to be formed on the respective subject areas and to be given the task of resolving any differences of opinion.

Wir gehen davon aus, daß über die Gespräche in den Arbeitsgruppen jeweils Protokolle angefertigt werden, die von den Vertreterinnen/Vertretern der Fraktionen überprüft und unterzeichnet werden sollen. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeitsgruppen sollen dann in einem Plenum beider Fraktionen diskutiert und verabschiedet werden (48).

That any discussions occurred at all between the Greens and the SPD in Mainz represented a major victory for the left-wing of the city's SPD. They had succeeded in persuading party right-wingers, including key members of the council executive, that the Greens

should at least be regarded as a possible alternative to the party's continued reliance upon the CDU and FDP. Even before discussions began, it was evident that the forces opposed to a possible red-green budget were in a majority in the respective party organisations and that any failure to reach agreement would not be regarded unfavourably by Green Fundamentalists or SPD right-wingers.

Within this context, meetings were held between the Greens and the SPD, but without agreement being reached on the Greens' key demands. From an SPD point of view, the previously cited party resolution of October 1984, in which the creation of an alliance with another party and agreement upon policy matters were rejected, offered ample justification for their refusal to follow the Greens' approach to the discussions. Moreover, the fact that there was still no consensus within the Green *Fraktionsgruppe* over the manner in which their aims were to be achieved, made internal discussions increasingly fraught. At a meeting of the group on 14 October 1985, for example, two broad strategies were identified:

(..) die einen wollen möglichst lange mit der SPD verhandeln, die anderen wollen nur dann verhandeln, wenn die SPD die Bereitschaft signalisiert, wesentliche Forderungen von uns ernsthaft zu prüfen (49).

With time for further deliberation running out, both sides became increasingly frustrated with the course of their discussions. The prevailing mood was not helped by persistent rumours that the SPD and CDU had already agreed a common budget in secret (50). Feeling that the SPD had not moved far enough to accommodate their minimum demands, the Greens' stance gradually shifted to a



more radical position. This was represented in their decision to press for a one month postponement of the council meetings in which the budget was to be passed. The aim of the Greens was to allow additional time for further deliberation.

In a final, key meeting between the Greens and the SPD prior to the introduction of the budget on 4 December 1985, the Green delegation acted upon the following resolution of the *Fraktionsgruppe*:

Wir fordern, daß die Stadtratssitzungen bezüglich Doppelhaushalt in den Januar vertagt werden.

Schlägt die SPD vor, die Stadtratssitzungen um eine Woche zu verschieben, lassen wir uns auf diesen Kompromiß ein.

Falls die SPD weder zur Januar-Vertagung bereit ist noch die Vertagung um eine Woche vorschlägt, hören wir uns die Angebote der SPD kommentarlos an und gehen dann.

Verhandlungen vor der Stadtratssitzung (..) finden auf keinen Fall statt (51).

Whilst agreement was reached in principle on a number of the Greens minimum demands, the SPD was unwilling to allow additional time for discussion on the formal grounds that this would cause difficulties for the city's administration and that its councillors might not be available for later council sessions:

Die Verwaltung muß in die Lage versetzt werden, möglichst schnell Aufträge an Handwerk und Mittelstand zu vergeben. Dies kann sie aber erst nach einer Veröffentlichung und damit Rechtskraft des Haushalts.

Viele Mitglieder unserer Fraktion haben sich auf die Termine 10. und 11.12.85 eingestellt. Bei einer Verschiebung ist die Präsenz der Fraktion nicht gewährleistet (52).

Instead of addressing outstanding policy differences, the debate between the Greens and the SPD gradually degenerated into a discussion about the timing of passing of the budget. The

conflicting approaches of the two parties could no longer be reconciled. On the one hand, the Greens were insistent that all policy difficulties would have to be ironed out before they could give their consent to a joint budget. On the other, the SPD felt that they had conceded enough to the Greens and set great store by the fact that the budget agreed so far would establish a framework within which policy changes along the Greens' lines would be possible.

The conflicting approaches of the Greens and the SPD could not be reconciled in time for the vital council session of 10 December 1985. Nevertheless, the SPD still operated under the illusion, that even if the Greens did not vote in favour of the budget, they would not vote against it given the fact that a number of the party's demands were met in it. By abstaining, the Greens would have allowed the budget to be passed with the casting vote of Mayor Fuchs (53). This represented a serious error of judgement on the part of the Mainz SPD, particularly when one considers that the Greens had passed the following resolution at their party meeting the week before:

Eine Zustimmung der Grünen zum Doppelhaushalt kann es (...) nur geben, wenn die Entscheidung verschoben wird. Ist eine Verabschiedung des Doppelhaushalts noch im Dezember möglich, soll eine außerordentliche MV (Mitgliederversammlung - T.S.) nach Abschluß der Verhandlungen mit der SPD über das Abstimmverhalten der Grünen im Rathaus entscheiden (54).

As a result of the foregoing discussion, it was evident that the only logical course of action for the Greens in the budget debate on 10 December 1985 was to reject the SPD proposal. However, this still came as a shock to a number of political commentators in

Mainz.

The ensuing change in mood of the SPD with regard to the Greens can be directly attributed to the failure to reach agreement over the budget. For the party's left-wing in particular, the budget debate represented a serious set-back. In a letter to the Greens, SPD council group leader Pick expressed his disappointment with the Greens' behaviour, suggesting that the gulf between the two parties was not actually as great as perceived by the Greens: *"nach den vorgehenden Beratungen und Abstimmungen [wurde] ein Ergebnis erreicht, das aus unserer Sicht Ansätze zu neuen Wegen und Schwerpunkten aufwies"* (55). From December 1985, the right-wing majority in the SPD was able to reassert its control over future discussions with the Greens and even the most ardent supporters of a red-green strategy were forced to recognise the weakness of their case. Even Realists within the Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, who appreciated the relevance of the SPD's decision to enter into talks with the Greens in the first place, argued in vain for a greater degree of flexibility in any future discussions with the SPD (56).

Bearing in mind the loss of trust which result from the collapse of budget negotiations, it appeared increasingly likely that all future attempts to reach agreement over a new budget in the New Year would be doomed to fail. The SPD's insistence that the budget presented on 10 December represented the maximum to which they were prepared to agree characterised all further discussions with the Greens. Meetings held in January 1986 ended without agreement, whilst sessions of expert working groups on social and

environmental themes failed to bridge the growing divide. Finally, a meeting of the Mainz Green Party rejected by a slender majority the existing state of agreements between the SPD and Greens and insisted that further significant concessions with regard to the party's initial minimum demands be sought from the SPD. As a direct result of this party meeting, at which future SPD council group leader Hans Spehs was present, the Social Democrats gave up all hope of reaching an agreement with the Greens. In a letter, dated 14 January 1986, the SPD informed the Greens that they were not willing to make any additional changes to the budget submitted on 10 December:

Ich möchte Sie darüber unterrichten, daß die SPD-Fraktion von den Gesprächen mit Ihnen (..) Kenntnis genommen und nachträglich ihre Auffassung bestätigt hat, daß keine Änderungen im Haushalts- und Stellenplan gegenüber dem Stand vom 10. Dezember 1985 akzeptiert werden können (57).

This opened up the way for the passing of a budget with the CDU. The depth of disillusionment with the Greens was expressed by the fact that only 4 of the 27 SPD councillors continued to support the holding of further talks with the Greens (Tageszeitung 17.01.86).

In the debate over the 1986/87 budget, the conflicting approaches of the Greens and the SPD with regard to local political activity are clarified. Whilst agreement was possible on limited policy areas, irreconcilable differences in style ultimately led to the collapse of negotiations. One SPD councillor summed up the contrasting approaches in an interview conducted some months later:

Die spezielle Schwierigkeit bei Verhandlungen mit den

Grünen besteht darin, daß man nie wissen kann, wie sich die nächste Mitgliederversammlung der Grünen zusammensetzt und zu welchen Beschlüssen diese kommen wird. Dagegen kann sich die CDU immer darauf verlassen, daß sich die SPD zu Vereinbarungen zwingen lassen wird, die ihren Programmen und Beschlüssen widersprechen (58).

By means of the example of the budget negotiations, it is possible to identify very precisely the divergent approaches of the Greens and the SPD to local politics. The conflict between the two factions most divided along the New-Old Politics continuum, the Green Fundamentalists and the SPD right-wing, ultimately led to the collapse of the talks. However, for the Greens, the result of the failure to agree upon the 1986/87 budget was much worse than for the SPD, serving to restrict their future involvement in the key decisions affecting Mainz' local politics for the remainder of the period under review. This will be addressed in the following section.

### 5.2.3. Phase 3: The Mainz Greens in isolation

As previously discussed, the most important decision to be made by any local council in the Rhineland Palatinate concerns the appointment of the mayor (Naßmacher 1989). In the region's large cities the mayor holds a position of great authority, being elected for a period of 10 years. After its deliberations over the 1986/87 budget, the attention of the Mainz city council was immediately diverted towards the impending need to choose a new mayor to replace Jockel Fuchs whose period of office was coming to an end.

One of the major side-effects of their failure to agree a common platform with the SPD was the exclusion of the Greens from any

negotiations with regard to the choice of a candidate for mayor. An invitation from the SPD to participate in discussions on the subject was clearly a tactical manoeuvre, which elicited the following response from the Greens:

Überrascht hat uns (...) Ihr Angebot zu einem Gespräch über die Oberbürgermeister-Wahl. Wir vermögen uns nicht vorzustellen, was speziell zu diesem Thema zwischen uns diskutiert werden könnte, da wir davon ausgehen, daß alle Entscheidungen in dieser Hinsicht gefallen und die Mehrheiten dafür von Ihrer Fraktion gleich mehrfach abgesichert worden sind. (...) Es macht aus unserer Sicht also wenig Sinn, über die nur noch formal zu vollziehende Wahl des Oberbürgermeisters Gespräche zu führen (59).

The Greens' stance only changed partially in the months to come when it became evident that the SPD was to be forced to make significant concessions to the CDU in return for their agreement on SPD mayoral candidate Helmut-Hartmut Weyel. In a meeting of the Mainz Green Party on 2 October 1986, two weeks before the designated election of the mayor, a resolution was passed which sought to enter into new negotiations with the SPD over policy matters. The resolution included a shift in the Greens' stance with regard to the occupation of executive positions:

Für den Fall erfolgreicher Verhandlungen erklären die GRÜNEN ihre Bereitschaft, in Zukunft auch personelle Verantwortung zu übernehmen (60).

However, this shift in attitude was not significant, given the limited prospects of success for the Greens' strategy. Indeed, a curt response from the SPD to this particular Green offer demonstrated the extent to which the party had become excluded from the decision-making process in the city.

A comparison of the course of the SPD-CDU negotiations over the election of the mayor and those of the SPD and Greens over the

budget, serves to illustrate once more the differences between the Old and New Local Politics approaches. Whilst the Greens were unable to gain significant concessions from the SPD with regard to their policy priorities, the CDU was much more successful. SPD hopes that their candidate would be supported unconditionally by the Mainz Christian Democrats, as agreed in the course of the debate over the election of Josef Hofmann to the executive in February 1985, were dashed. The CDU's strategy was made clear in a 6 page letter from council group leader Heinz-Georg Diehl to the SPD *Fraktion* on 1 October 1986:

Es kann weder für die SPD noch für die CDU allein um die Besetzung von Führungsämtern in der Stadtverwaltung gehen, ohne daß die Bereitschaft besteht, in entscheidenden Fragen für Mainz an einem Strang zu ziehen (61).

In the letter the CDU's own list of minimum demands was outlined. Not only was a significant shift in the SPD's stance with regard to important policy measures required, the CDU also sought to secure greater influence for itself upon personnel matters:

Den CDU-Dezernaten werden im Rahmen der im nächsten Jahr neu zu erfolgenden Dezernatsverteilung zwei weitere Aufgabengebiete zugeordnet.

SPD und CDU sichern sich entsprechend der derzeitigen Regelung das Vorschlagsrecht und die gegenseitige Unterstützung bei der Besetzung von Vorstandspositionen der stadtnahen Gesellschaften zu (62).

In the absence of practicable alternatives, the Mainz SPD felt ultimately obliged to agree in full to the CDU's demands. A statement by local party chairman Anton Diehl which sought to justify the SPD's decision to give in to the CDU stressed the lack of alternatives for the SPD:

Die Fraktion sah sich nicht zuletzt angesichts der Erfahrungen mit den Grünen bei den Beratungen des Doppelhaushaltes 1986/87 keine realistische Möglichkeit

eines Zusammengehens (63).

The fact that major concessions in both policy and personnel matters could be granted to the CDU, but not to the Greens is significant in terms of the debate over the conflicting approaches to local politics of the Greens and the established parties. It proved more straightforward for the SPD majority to reach agreement with the CDU in a manner to which they were accustomed, than to comply with the limited, albeit less conventional, demands of the Greens. The fact that a serious conflict developed within the Mainz SPD over the agreement with the CDU and resulted in the withdrawal of several party members from council-related duties was taken in the party's stride (64). The main aim of the SPD had been achieved, namely the election of its candidate to the office of mayor.

In the face of the Mainz Model, the Greens were once again able to seek political gain from their oppositional stance. In a press release to mark the election of Herman-Hartmut Weyel to mayor, the future role of the Greens was clarified:

Die Fraktion der GRÜNEN wird nunmehr unter noch klareren Voraussetzungen die einzige Alternative zum "Mainzer Modell" der SPD/CDU-Kumpanei sein. Dies bedeutet:

- DIE GRÜNEN werden noch mehr die Rolle des Anwaltes für soziale und ökologische Interessen übernehmen
- DIE GRÜNEN werden über ihre Sachpolitik im Stadtrat die SPD immer wieder zwingen Farbe zu bekennen
- DIE GRÜNEN werden insbes. in der Verkehrs-, Bau- und Haushaltspolitik die Betrugereien der SPD-Wahlversprechen offenlegen (65).

In practice, as a result of the budget fiasco of the winter of 1985/86, the Greens had succeeded in manoeuvring themselves out of any position of influence with regard to subsequent decisions



affecting Mainz. This was reflected in a marked decline in the level of the party's council activities (see Chapter 6).

The collapse of budget negotiations with the SPD also had a long-term impact upon the Greens' links with the city's extra-parliamentary initiatives. Although Mainz does not have a substantial alternative sector, the Greens set great store in the maintenance of links with the few organisations which existed were active in this area. Indeed, the idealised view of party fundamentalists still dictates that the Greens are the parliamentary arm of a movement which is essentially based outside the parliaments. However, as was the case in a number of other cities addressed in Chapter 3, the impetus for cooperation between the Mainz Greens and local initiative groups came most often from the Greens themselves (66). The failure to agree a budget with the SPD in the winter of 1985/1986 marked the last opportunity for a number of projects to receive the necessary funding to implement their goals. This applied in particular to those measures agreed in principle with the SPD during negotiations over the budget, such as the funding of a town partnership between Mainz and Diriamba (Nicaragua) and of an experimental night-taxi service for women (see Chapter 7). As a result, the Greens' influence over the initiative groups declined and the council group was obliged to go to even greater lengths to maintain links at all. Consequently, the Mainz Greens were not only isolated in terms of their influence upon council politics by the end of the period under analysis, they were also increasingly isolated with regard to the extra-parliamentary

groups from which they sought support.

### 5.3. Summary: Why they red-green strategy failed in Mainz

This section began with a discussion of the differences between the New Local Politics of the Greens and the Old Local Politics of the established parties. Two hypotheses were raised. Firstly, it was suggested that, as a result of the Greens' unique approach, local politics in West Germany would become more conflictual. Secondly, the argument was made that the parliamentary styles adopted by the Greens would run counter to traditional forms of local political behaviour, leading to a politicisation of all aspects of council activity. Both hypotheses can be proven by an analysis of political events in Mainz between 1984 and 1987.

With reference to the first hypothesis, the course of the 1986/87 budget negotiations demonstrated that the Greens and the SPD were operating at different levels. The Greens overriding interest was in the implementation of their policy proposals, whilst the SPD laid greatest emphasis upon the placement of party representatives in key executive positions. This symbolises the developing conflict between the New Local Politics approach of the Greens and the traditional, Old Local Politics stance of the SPD. The contrasting approaches of the Greens and the SPD could not be reconciled in Mainz and ultimately led to the collapse of a possible agreement between the parties.

Evidence was also provided to support the the second hypothesis. The discussion of the election of new members to the council executive was indicative of the extent to which areas

traditionally regarded as being uncontroversial became highly political following the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council. The Greens represented the most vocal source of opposition to the consensual practices which had characterised Mainz' local politics for the preceding 30 years. Whether this role actually benefited the Greens in terms of achieving their policy aims must be called in to doubt given that their activities were characterised by a growing isolation in the wake of the budget negotiations, both in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary terms.

## Chapter 6

### Analysis of Parliamentary Initiatives in Mainz

A discussion of the political developments in Mainz between 1984 and 1987 points towards the existence of a New Politics dimension in the local party system. In this chapter the discussion will be taken one stage further. Having demonstrated that the style of local politics has fundamentally changed in the period following the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council, it is now necessary to examine the content of local political debate during the same period. In this respect, two principal hypotheses are to be addressed.

Firstly, it has been suggested on the basis of an analysis of the activities of Green council groups throughout the country, that the Greens have been responsible for a change in the agenda of West Germany's local politics. Whether or not such a development represents the establishment of a New Politics dimension at local level needs to be investigated. It has been demonstrated that the issues of the New Politics - ecology, women's rights, participation in decision-making processes, consumer affairs, East-West detente, the North-South divide - already influence debate at higher system levels (Baker et al 1981; Schmitt et al 1981; Gibowski and Kaase 1986). However, there is no clear proof that such issues are systematically being discussed at the local level of the West German party system. The first hypothesis to be tested is that the Greens have introduced a New Politics dimension into the local politics of Mainz.

Secondly, it has been suggested that the traditionally consensual

nature of West Germany's local politics is in a state of decline. Researchers have suggested that the local level was undergoing a process of parliamentarisation during the late 1960s and 1970s (Gabriel 1979b; Gabriel 1984). Councillors in some areas in which the process of socio-economic modernisation has been most rapid (*Dienstleistungszentren*), were increasingly voting along party lines (Hesse 1982). In these cases fewer decisions, including the all important passing of the annual budget, were made in unison (see Gabriel 1984). The second hypothesis to be addressed in this chapter is that the Greens, as a result of their New Politics orientation, have contributed greatly to the process of politicisation and the demise of consensus politics. The precise nature of the conflict in local party systems is also a matter of importance. It is necessary to discover whether any emerging conflict cuts across established party lines along an Old-New Local Politics divide.

The analysis is divided into four main sections. In section 6.1. the manner in which the hypotheses are to be addressed is discussed. Section 6.2 addresses levels of council activity in Mainz during the period under review. The extent to which the Greens were responsible for any changes in activity levels will be assessed. This provides the basis for an analysis of the subject areas of debate in the Mainz city council between July 1984 and June 1987 (section 6.3). Finally, section 6.4 examines the conflict dimensions evident in the city's local party system. This discussion will identify the subject areas which give rise to discord and the council groups responsible for introducing conflictual issues at local level.

### 6.1. Methodology

The changing agenda of Mainz' local politics and any resulting decline in the level of consensus is to be addressed in this study by means of an analysis of the motions introduced by the four parties represented on the city council during a three-year period. The data encompasses all motions initiated between July 1984 and June 1987 by the SPD, CDU, FDP and Greens council groups in Mainz.

An analysis of council motions represents an ideal means of addressing the content of council debate. Especially for those council groups not involved in the council's administration, such as the Greens in Mainz, motions provide a means by which the policy-making process can be influenced.

In order to judge adequately the Greens' impact upon the agenda of the Mainz' local politics, it also proved necessary to examine the motions introduced in a period preceding the party's election to the city council. In this respect, the parliamentary initiatives of the SPD, CDU and FDP were analysed for a 12 month period, running from June 1983 to May 1984. During this control period 47 motions were introduced by the established parties' council groups in 6 council meetings. In the three-year period following the Greens' election to the city council, 325 motions were initiated in 35 meetings.

The data on which the statistical analysis is based were collated by the council administration in Mainz (67). They address all of the motions which were debated during both the control period and

the period subsequent to the Greens' election to the Mainz city council. The data present information on the four key variables required for a discussion of the hypotheses developed above. Firstly, a key word is assigned to each motion, under its general heading. This assists in an identification of the subject area of the appropriate initiative (see section 6.3. for details). Secondly, the *Fraktion* responsible for introducing the motion is stated. Thirdly, the date of the council meeting in which the motion was debated is given. Finally, the council resolution affecting the motion is provided. Further supporting data was extracted from the texts of the relevant initiatives and from the minutes of the council sessions in which the motions were discussed.

By utilising the information provided by the Mainz city authorities, the data was coded according to the four key variables and then statistically manipulated using the SPSS/PC system. The cross-tabulation of these and newly created variables was utilised in the testing the hypotheses pertaining to the influence of the Greens upon Mainz' local politics. In this respect, particular attention was paid to the subject areas of the motions introduced during the two periods under review, the council groups responsible for initiating motions in each of the subject areas and the degree of conflict which arose in both periods. For the period in which the Greens were represented on the city council, it was of interest to identify whether the subject areas of the motions varied across the three years of the analysis and the extent to which a connection existed between the

subject area of a particular motion and the type of the decision made.

With regard to the parliamentary activities of the Mainz Green *Fraktion* it was also necessary to establish whether any firm link could be made between developments in the local party system from 1984 to 1987 and the number of motions introduced, the subject area of the motions and the outcome of the debate on their initiatives.

Before concentrating upon the agenda of Mainz' local politics, the extent to which the level of council activity in the city changed following the election of the Greens will be addressed.

#### 6.2. Level of council activity in Mainz (1983-1987)

It has already been shown that the Greens adopt parliamentary styles of politics at local level. Indeed, this is a principal feature of their New Local Politics style. In the following sections a further aspect of their parliamentary approach is to be addressed. This pertains to the powers of initiation of the Greens at local level. At the national and regional levels, the Greens have a reputation of being hard-working, in terms of the sheer volume of initiatives they introduce (Ismayr 1985; Poguntke 1987c). Whether such initiatives are successful appears to be of secondary importance to a party seeking to influence public opinion rather than to work actively within the system to produce reforms. It is necessary to judge whether this also applies at local level.

In analysing variations in the levels of parliamentary activity



of the *Fraktionen* represented on the Mainz city council, conclusions are to be drawn in two areas. Firstly, it will be established whether the period following the Greens' election to the city council was marked by higher rates of activity than the control period which preceded their election (section 6.2.1.). Secondly, the extent to which the Greens were responsible for any variations in activity will be demonstrated (section 6.2.2.).

#### 6.2.1. Changing levels of council activity 1983-1987

At surface level, a comparison of activity rates illustrates a marked difference between the periods prior to and subsequent to the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council in June 1984 (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1

Number of motions per council session Mainz, periods 1 and 2		
	Period 1	Period 2
Motions	47	325
Sessions	6	35
Motions per session	7.83	9.29
-----		
Period 1 = July 1983 - June 1985		
Period 2 = July 1984 - June 1987		

Whilst on average 7.83 motions per council session were introduced by the council groups in the period preceding the election of the Greens, the corresponding figure for the period following their election was 9.29 motions per session. However, when consideration is taken of the fact that 4 council groups

were represented in the second period and only 3 in the first, the increase becomes less significant. On average, 2.61 motions per council session were introduced by each *Fraktion* between June 1983 and May 1984. In the first three years of Green council activity in Mainz the four council groups initiated on average just 2.32 motions per session. This represents a slight overall fall in the level of activity of the Mainz *Fraktionen* between 1984 and 1987.

Any increase in activity, measured in terms of the number of motions introduced per council session, can be attributed largely to the election of a new party to the council. In this respect, the group's political orientation appears to be less important. However, it would be misleading to dismiss altogether the effects of the presence of a new party on the city council. One major result of the Greens' election to the city council was an increase in the average number of motions discussed in individual council sessions. This led to a significant increase in the duration of individual council meetings, since more motions were to be discussed by a larger number of parties.

In terms of the 35 meetings held in Mainz between July 1984 and June 1987, large variations in the level of council activity were recorded. The distribution of motions varied between a peak of 21 motions registered in the session held on 29 May 1985 and a low of 2 motions recorded in the sessions of 29 August 1984 and 29 July 1985 (both convened as special holiday sessions during council summer recess). However, there was no consistent trend with regard to the level of council activity.

Nor could significant trends be identified when the sessions were regrouped into 7 equal half-year periods (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2

Motions per council session, Mainz, 1983-1987

	Time periods						
	1983/84	1984b	1985a	1985b	1986a	1986b	1987a
Motions	47	59	71	49	47	57	42
Sessions	6	7	6	6	5	6	5
Motions per session	7.83	8.43	11.83	8.17	9.40	9.50	8.40
Time periods: suffix "a" = January - June							
suffix "b" = July - December							

Whilst each of the time periods following the Greens' entry to the city council was marked by a rate of activity higher than that of the control period, this derived mainly from the presence of four council groups in Mainz from July 1984, as opposed to the three represented in the period before.

With the exception of the first half of 1985 (Period 1985a), in which on average 11.83 motions were initiated each session, the average number of motions introduced by the Mainz council groups between 1984 and 1987 fluctuated within a narrow range of between 8.4 and 9.5 motions per session. When account is taken of the number of council groups represented, only the time period 1985a actually registered levels of activity above that of the period preceding the Greens' election to the city council. Between January and June 1985 an average of 2.96 motions per *Fraktion* per

council session were introduced, the corresponding figure for the period 1983/84 being 2.61.

When viewed globally, therefore, the slight increase in the average number of motions placed upon the agenda of the Mainz city council was mainly due to the election of a new council group. In the next section it is necessary to examine the contribution of the individual political parties to the levels of council activity in Mainz. The extent to which the Greens have acted as an initiating force in the city's local politics can then be judged.

#### 6.2.2. Activity levels of the Mainz council groups (1984-1987)

In this section the level of parliamentary activity of the Mainz Green Party is to be compared to that of the other parties represented in the city's council chamber.

Table 6.3

Motions by initiating Fraktion, Mainz, 1984-1987

	Fraktion				
	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens	All
Motions	79	74	56	108	317
%	24.9	23.3	17.7	34.1	100.0

Excludes 8 joint motions

During the three-year period under review, the Green *Fraktion* accounted for over one third of all motions submitted to the Mainz city council (Table 6.3). Such a rate of activity is

clearly out of all proportion to the size of the Green council group. If the 8 motions introduced by more than one *Fraktion* are excluded from the analysis, the Greens were responsible for 108 (34.1%) of the 317 motions introduced by the four council groups.

In many ways this fact provides evidence of the extent to which the Greens have become almost fully integrated into the parliamentary process in Mainz. The sheer volume of parliamentary motions initiated by the Green *Fraktion* suggests that the group's priorities lie in the parliamentary system and not in their extra-parliamentary activities. As previously discussed, this aspect of Green local council participation is bolstered by the organisational weaknesses of the Greens' grassroots and the pervading disinterest of the party's adherents in local political affairs (Chapter 3).

Table 6.4

Motions per councillor, Mainz, 1984-1987

	Fraktion				
	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens	All
Motions	2.9	3.1	18.7	21.6	5.4
(n)	(27)	(24)	(3)	(5)	(59)

n=number of councillors

When account is taken of the relative strengths of the Mainz council groups, the level of Green activity becomes even more apparent (Table 6.4). Whilst each CDU and SPD councillor was responsible for an average of about 3 motions over the period of

the analysis, the respective figure for the 5 Green councillors was 21.6 initiatives each. However, when the level of activity of the FDP council group is brought into the discussion, it becomes evident that the level of activity differentiates less between the Green councillors and those of the established political parties, than between the large and small council groups. In order to establish a clear political profile, the Greens' and the FDP are obliged to maintain a comparatively high rate of initiation. By contrast, the SPD and CDU council groups are able to adopt a comparatively low level of activity.

In this context it is interesting to compare the level of council activity in the periods immediately preceding and following the Greens' election to the Mainz council. Here consideration is taken both of the number of council meetings held during the two periods and of the respective strengths of the individual council groups.

Table 6.5

Mainz: Council activity (Motions per councillor per council session)		
Fraktion	Period 1	Period 2
SPD	0.13	0.08
CDU	0.10	0.09
FDP	0.33	0.53
Greens	na	0.62
All	0.13	0.15
(n)	(6)	(35)
n=number of council sessions		

Period 1: June 1983-May 1984  
 Period 2: July 1984-June 1987

Overall, there was only a slight change in the average level of activity for the two periods concerned, when measured in terms of the number of initiatives introduced by individual councillors per council session (Table 6.5). The rate rose from a figure of 0.13 in the first period to 0.15 in the second. This increase can be attributed primarily to the presence of the Greens in the city council and to an increased level of activity on the part of the small FDP *Fraktion*. Each of the major parties witnessed a fall in the average level of activity of their representatives. The decline was most noticeable in the case of the SPD, with a fall from a level of 0.13 motions per councillor before July 1984 to just 0.08 in the period which followed.

Again, any conclusions to be drawn from such a comparison should be treated cautiously. The fact that the control period fell at the end of the legislative period 1979-1984 could have served to affect the performance of the established parties' council groups in Mainz. By raising their levels of activity in the run-up to the 1984 local election, the SPD, CDU and FDP might well have sought to influence the course of the election.

However, on the basis of the information presented, it is evident that the Greens have succeeded in adopting the role of being the principal initiating force in Mainz local politics. On their own, they were more than able to compensate for the declining levels of activity of the larger council groups. This appears to have affected the SPD in particular.

In this respect, the extent to which the Greens were consistently

active at a higher level than the remaining council groups for the entire period under analysis must also be addressed.

Notable fluctuations in the rates of initiation of the four *Fraktionen* were recorded over the the 35 council sessions held between July 1984 and June 1987. The Greens failed to introduce motions on just two occasions (8 May 1985 and 16 October 1985), but compensated for this lapse by initiating no fewer than 9 motions in the session held on 29 May 1985. Of the four council groups, the level of Green activity varied most considerably between 1984 and 1987. The other council groups maintained more consistent levels of initiation, albeit at a rate generally lower than that of the Greens. The SPD introduced a maximum number of 5 motions on two occasions and initiated no motions at all on a further 5. The CDU was the most consistent of the four council groups, recording a maximum figure of 4 motions per council session on 5 occasions and failing to introduce any motions at all on a further 6. The FDP introduced 3 or more motions only 8 times, with a peak of 5 motions recorded for the session of 29 May 1985. FDP motions were absent from the agenda of council meetings on 8 occasions.

Such absolute variations in the level of activity of the individual council groups in Mainz allow few conclusions to be drawn about developments over the course of the analysis. For this reason it is useful to group council sessions together in time periods in order to ascertain whether or not trends in the rate of activity could be identified.

Table 6.6 depicts variations in the level of council activity for



a series of time periods of equal lengths. Factors underlying variations in the levels of activity over the course of the analysis are to be found in developments in the Mainz party system between 1984 and 1987.

Table 6.6

Motions per council session, Mainz, 1983-1987

Fraktion	Time periods						
	1983/84	1984b	1985a	1985b	1986a	1986b	1987a
SPD	3.67	2.00	2.83	1.83	2.80	2.33	1.80
CDU	2.67	1.86	2.50	1.67	2.20	2.17	2.40
FDP	1.33	1.29	2.00	1.33	1.60	2.00	1.40
Greens	na	3.29	4.17	3.17	2.40	2.83	2.40
All	7.67	8.44	11.50	8.00	9.00	9.33	8.00

Time periods: suffix "a" = January - June  
 suffix "b" = July - December

In the wake of the 1984 local election, all council groups recorded their highest levels of activity in the first six months of 1985. Otherwise fluctuations in the activity levels occurred rather erratically. By the end of the analysis both the Greens and CDU were operating at an average of 2.4 motions per council session, whilst the SPD was responsible for an average figure of only 1.8 motions. Again, this shows the extent to which the SPD conceded some of the initiating strength witnessed in the 1983/84 period to the Greens.

The extent to which political events influenced the activity levels of the Mainz council groups can be shown by reorganising the time periods of the analysis to cope with the main events of

the first three years of Green participation in Mainz' local politics. Instead of the rigid half-year periods adopted above, 5 new periods were created which were linked to the major local political events addressed in Chapter 5.

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Figure 6.1

Mainz: Important events 1984 to 1987

Time Period	Events
Period 1	SPD-Green talks re supplementary budget. Red-Green alliance in Gonsenheim suburb. (July-October 1984=4 council sessions)
Period 2	Election of CDU members to council executive with SPD support. (November 1984-May 1985=8 council sessions)
Period 3	SPD-Green talks re budget 1986/87. (June-December 1985=7 council sessions)
Period 4	Failure of red-green budget talks. Election of new city mayor. (January-October 1986=9 sessions)
Period 5	End of Fuchs era in Mainz: transitional period (November 1986-June 1987=6 council sessions)

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Figure 6.1 depicts the events encompassed by the 5 new categories. Period 1, running from July to October 1984, represented a period in which the Mainz parties sought to clarify their relationship with one another. In certain respects, a rapprochement between the Greens and the SPD was evident, with regard to the discussions about the supplementary budget for 1985 and the debate over the alliance in the neighbourhood council in

the Gonsenheim suburb. However, Period 2 marked a worsening of the relationship between the Greens and the SPD, in the wake of the election of new CDU members to the council executive committee in November 1984 and February 1985. In Period 3, the Greens and the SPD were engaged in discussions about the joint passing of the city budget for 1986/1987. The collapse of any possible agreement marked the end of this period. The fourth period was characterised by the debate of the election of a new city mayor in Mainz, a debate from which the Greens were excluded as a result of events surrounding the passing of the 1986/1987 budget. Finally, Period 5 marked the end of the 20 year era of Mayor Fuchs in Mainz and the transition towards a new era under Mayor Weyel.

Table 6.7

Mainz: Motions per session by initiating Fraktion,  
time periods 1 to 5

Fraktion	Time Periods				
	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
SPD	2.00	2.63	1.86	2.56	2.00
CDU	2.00	2.25	1.71	2.33	2.14
FDP	1.25	1.63	1.57	1.78	1.57
Greens	3.25	3.63	3.57	2.44	2.71
All	8.50	10.13	8.71	9.11	8.43

Time periods: Period 1 =July-October 1984  
 Period 2 =November 1984-May 1985  
 Period 3 =June-December 1985  
 Period 4 =January-October 1986  
 Period 5 =November 1986-Jne 1987

The information presented in Tables 6.7 and 6.8 serves to demonstrate the extent to which the major political events in

Mainz influenced the levels of activity of the city's council groups between 1984 and 1987. The data are particularly illuminating from the point of view of the Greens.

Table 6.8

Mainz: Motions per council session by size of initiating Fraktion, time periods 1 to 5

Fraktion	Time Periods				
	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
SPD	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.09	0.07
CDU	0.08	0.09	0.07	0.10	0.09
FDP	0.42	0.54	0.52	0.59	0.52
Greens	0.65	0.73	0.71	0.49	0.54

Time periods: Period 1 =July-October 1984  
 Period 2 =November 1984-May 1985  
 Period 3 =June-December 1985  
 Period 4 =January-October 1986  
 Period 5 =November 1986-Jne 1987

During the first three time periods, the Greens' activity level reflected the prospect that their initiatives could gain some measure of success. Even if the motions were unsuccessful, the belief prevailed within the Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, that certain political benefits could be secured from their introduction. The key factor underlying the high levels of activity registered between July 1984 and December 1985, was the potential alliance with the SPD. This engendered an optimistic mood within the Greens, rendering council activity worthwhile. However, when the budgetary talks between the Greens and SPD collapsed in December 1985, at the end of Period 3, the Greens interest in local politics declined quite markedly. During Period 4, which followed

directly upon the failure of the red-green budget in Mainz, the level of activity of the individual Green councillors actually fell behind that of their FDP counterparts. In this period the Greens recorded an average figure of 0.49 motions per councillor per session, whilst the FDP reached a level of 0.59. Even in the final period of the analysis the Greens were unable to regain their earlier rate of activity. It is apparent from this analysis that the Mainz Greens became increasingly demoralised, unable to exert any influence over the all important selection process of the new city mayor. This lack of strategic involvement resulted directly from the collapse of the budgetary talks in 1985.

Such an explanation of the varying levels of Green activity in Mainz naturally runs the risk of oversimplifying the complex factors underlying recorded changes in rates of initiation. The role played by the increasingly factionalised internal decision-making processes of the Greens must also have played a role. Nevertheless, given the overriding significance of the dual budget of 1986/1987 in Mainz' local politics in the period of analysis, it is apparent that the collapse of any prospect of an alliance with the SPD left the Greens in a political vacuum.

With respect to the levels of activity of the other council groups, it is noticeable that variations were less marked. However, political events still influenced the performance of the groups. Both the SPD and CDU registered their lowest levels of initiation in the period in which the debate over a possible red-green alliance was most heated. Evidently both parties were waiting to see what materialised from the talks. The failure of

the red-green talks and the decision of the SPD to agree a new budget with the CDU marked a return to the *Mainzer Modell*. With the budget out of the way, the established parties' council groups could once again concentrate upon their policy-making activities. The period following the passing of the city budget (Period 4) corresponded to that in which the highest levels of activity were recorded for the CDU (2.33 motions per session) and FDP (1.78 motions per session) council groups and the second highest for that of the SPD (2.56 motions per session).

#### 6.2.3. Levels of council activity: Summary

A comparison of the periods immediately preceding and following the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council in June 1984 shows only a slight overall change in the rate of activity of the individual Mainz council groups. This fact belies the Greens' enormous appetite for initiating motions. Over one third of all motions introduced between July 1984 and June 1987 came from the five members of the Green *Fraktion*. In the context of the debate over changing styles and practices in West German local politics, it is significant that the Mainz Greens assumed the dominant role in seeking to influence the policy-making process by means of their motions. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that the power of initiation is largely a feature to be associated with the necessity for small council groups to maintain a political profile.

Over the course of the analysis it proved difficult to identify clear tendencies with regard to the levels of activity of the four council groups. Each *Fraktion* recorded its highest rate of

initiation in the first half of 1985, only to reduce the rate of initiation in the period which followed. The most likely explanation for this variance lies in the events surrounding the passing of the city budget in the winter of 1985/1986. The Greens were shown to reduce their level of activity quite considerably in the period which followed the collapse of budgetary talks with the SPD.

Having examined fluctuations in the level of activity in the Mainz council between 1984 and 1987, it is now necessary to examine the topics of debate of the city's local politics. This will allow conclusions to be drawn about the extent to which the Greens have contributed towards a change of agenda in Mainz' local politics.

### 6.3. Classification of the motions: Methodology

The analysis of the changing agenda Mainz' local council politics under the possible impact of New Politics topics necessitated the development of a means by which the subject areas of the issues under discussion in council sessions could be categorised. In the absence of comparable studies on which a classification of the subject areas of the motions of the Mainz *Fraktionen* could be based, it was necessary to create one specifically for this study. The classification adopted in the analysis below was essentially developed pragmatically in terms of an identification of the key areas of debate during the period of the analysis.

For the two periods under review - that preceding and that following the election of the Greens to the city council in 1984 - 13 broad subject area categories were developed. These

encompassed the great majority (93%) of the 372 motions submitted between July 1983 and June 1987.

In some cases there was no clear indication from the motion's title or from the keyword assigned to it by the council administration of the subject area to which it belonged. In these instances clarification was sought both by recourse to the text of the relevant motion and by an examination of the minutes of the council meeting in which the initiative was debated. The combination of these two approaches enabled the categorisation of borderline motions into the subject area groups developed.

Regardless of the creation of sufficiently broad categories, the content of certain motions defied precise categorisation. Where motions could not be adequately categorised, a final fourteenth heading of "other" was adopted. The category "other" subject areas comprised some 26 motions (7% of the entire sample).

The 13 subject area headings forming the basis of the analysis are: environment, transport, social, planning, culture, administration, military, economics, partnerships, law and order, democracy, education and youth. Figure 6.2 gives details of the topics included under each heading.

The type of issues included within the subject area categories are mainly self-evident. However, there are a number areas of the classification which require some justification. Some areas of local responsibility which traditionally belong to the repertoire of local politics were not represented by motions initiated during the period of the analysis and could therefore not be



Figure 6.2

Mainz: Classification of motions' subject areas

Subject area	Related issues
Environment	Ecology, environmental planning, environmental protection, recycling, energy, public information on ecological matters, waste management, natural habitats, emissions.
Transport	Public and private transport services, road maintenance, parking, traffic flow, cycle paths, footpaths, road lighting, speed limits, traffic reduction measures.
Social	Minority groups, immigration, women's affairs, social security benefits, unemployment.
Planning	Town planning, construction of new buildings, restoration of buildings, public and private sector accommodation, land use.
Culture	Established and alternative forms of cultural activity, festivals, conferences, museums and galleries, monuments, civic honours, street names, media affairs, sporting activities.
Administration	Internal council affairs, council bureaucracy, council personnel matters.
Military	US forces in Mainz, military bases, nuclear-free zones.
Economics	Budgetary matters, local businesses, economic planning, privatisation.
Partnerships	Twinning arrangements with foreign cities and domestic organisations.
Law and order	Policing, demonstrations, pub opening hours, public protection.
Democracy	Public participation in local politics, sub-local councils ( <i>Ortsbeiräte</i> ).
Education	Schools.
Youth	Youth and child welfare, facilities for young people.
Other	All remaining subject areas.

included. This applied for example to the case of health related issues in the Mainz study. Other matters within local authorities' competences, such as the administration and maintenance of council buildings and facilities were accommodated within the 13 subject areas established, depending upon the content of the relevant motion. Thus a motion seeking to abandon admission charges to a local authority financed museum was placed in the culture category. The fact that women's affairs have been located in the "social" category could also be open to criticism. However, this specific sphere of local political debate was not sufficiently well represented throughout the period of the analysis to warrant a category of its own. This also applied to motions with a sporting subject area (assigned to "culture").

Even before the categorisation of the Mainz council groups' parliamentary motions could be undertaken, it was evident that significant problems existed with the universal application of a "New Politics" label to certain subject area headings. This further demonstrates the extent to which debate about New Politics issues has been conducted in too simplistic a manner. It proved impossible to globally assign individual subject area headings to a New Politics heading. Environmental issues, which are commonly perceived as belonging to the New Politics agenda, tend to incorporate issues which have been the subject of local political debate for a long time. The same would apply to the questions of military activities and town partnerships, which have been on the local political agenda in the Federal Republic since the 1950s at least. In the absence of any clear means of

establishing what constituted the agenda of the Old Local Politics no distinction could be drawn between environmental motions with a New Politics orientation and those that belonged to the established repertoire of local politics. Similarly, economics motions should not necessarily be assigned automatically to the category of "Old Politics". Such complex issues arising from the New Politics debate can only be addressed adequately in a qualitative study of the parliamentary initiatives of the Mainz council groups (see Chapter 7 below).

In addition to the problems arising from a classification of motions into "new" and "old" politics types, the categorisation of the 372 individual motions introduced by the Mainz council groups between 1983 and 1987 itself presented a number of difficulties.

Whilst the majority of motions could satisfactorily be assigned to one of the 13 subject area categories, some parliamentary initiatives transcended one or more of the headings. Such motions were introduced only in the period following the Greens' entry into the Mainz city council.

This phenomenon is best illustrated with the assistance of an example. Following models adopted in other German cities, the SPD *Fraktion* introduced a motion in 1985 calling for the adoption of a new integrated transport policy for Mainz (M94/85) (68). The key element of the policy lay in the initiation by the local transport authority of a new fare-pricing structure which would be accompanied by improvements in bus and tram services. The

motive behind the initiative was primarily the protection of the environment. By reducing the cost of a monthly season ticket for the city's transport network and by improving the service on offer, it was hoped that more private car users could be encouraged to switch to public transport. Were the policy to be successful in the case of Mainz, the increase in the proportion of journeys made by public transport would serve to reduce the levels of air pollutants emitted from car exhausts and thereby contribute to a reduction in a prime cause of acid rain.

In the classification adopted here, this motion was placed in the "transport" category, given that its focal point was the reform of the local transport system. However, the motion had significant "environmental" implications. It could also conceivably have been placed in the "social" category. The reduction in public transport fares is of immediate benefit to those sections of the population unable to afford the luxury of a car and therefore most reliant upon the public transport network. In these social groups the new fare-pricing structure would automatically lead to an increase in the disposable income available, representing an improvement in living circumstances. In addition to the transport, environment and social categories it would have been possible to assign the SPD motion M94/85 to the planning or economic fields given the long-term implications such a policy entails for the development of the local road infrastructure and for the finances of the city of Mainz.

Such difficulties of categorisation applied to only a small number of cases in this analysis. The possibility of assigning

individual motions to more than one category and thereby allowing multiple values was rejected; there was judged to be no objective means of restricting the number of subject areas covered by a particular motion. In this respect, the majority of motions have "economic" implications, since city funding is required for their implementation. To allow multiple values would have automatically reduced the clarity of the categories of analysis.

Within the context of this study, some positive results can be derived from such categorisation difficulties. The fact that individual motions can belong to more than one category, as illustrated above in the case of the SPD motion M94/85, exemplifies the changing nature of West German local politics. Parliamentary initiatives at this level increasingly incorporate elements from a range of subject areas, suggesting that local politicians are becoming more aware of the far-reaching effects of their decision-making processes. Furthermore, local issues are more frequently viewed in their supra-local contexts than has traditionally been the case (see Chapter 7). The Greens' concept of thinking globally and acting locally is also evident in the motions of the established political parties.

Although, on the basis of the information available, it is difficult to support the contention that such wide-ranging motions are in themselves indicative of the existence of a "New Politics" dimension at the local level, this represents an area which certainly merits further investigation. The data available for this study can only point towards the possible emergence of New Politics issues at local level. To provide conclusive

evidence that such a development has occurred would require a more detailed analysis, involving a comparison of the nature of the issues debated in local councils across a series of time periods and incorporating a larger number of localities of differing social-structural types.

Despite the limitations inherent in the data available for this study, the following analysis demonstrates that it is still possible to draw significant conclusions about the changing nature of local politics in Mainz between 1983 to 1987. It is also possible to judge the extent to which the Greens have contributed to the process of change.

#### 6.3.1. Subject area of Mainz motions 1983-1987

In this section the hypothesis that the Greens have contributed towards a change in the agenda of local politics in Mainz is to be tested. The basis for the analysis is provided by an examination of the subject areas of the motions introduced by the parties represented on the city's local council.

An assessment of the extent to which the agenda of Mainz' local politics changed subsequent to the Greens' election to the city council necessitates a means of comparison. This is to be achieved by analysing the subject areas of the motions initiated by the *Fraktionen* represented on the city council for the two periods June 1983 to May 1984 (Period 1) and July 1984 to June 1987 (Period 2). In Period 1 the SPD, CDU and FDP were the only parties with seats on the council. In Period 2 these parties were joined by the Greens. Again, it should be stressed that this tells us little about the style and content of the motions within

the respective subject area categories. This is a problem which cannot be adequately addressed by means of a quantitative analysis alone.

Table 6.9

Motions by subject area, Mainz, Periods 1 and 2

Subject area	Period 1 1983/84	Period 2 1984/87	Change in % +(-)
Environment	21.3	26.2	4.9
Transport	10.6	17.2	6.6
Social	8.5	10.2	1.7
Planning	12.8	9.8	(3.0)
Culture	6.4	13.5	7.1
Administration	2.1	2.8	0.7
Military	2.1	1.5	(0.6)
Economics	17.0	2.2	(14.8)
Partnerships	0.0	3.4	3.4
Law and order	0.0	2.2	2.2
Democracy	2.1	0.9	(1.2)
Education	2.1	2.2	0.1
Youth	6.4	1.2	(5.2)
Other	8.5	6.8	(1.7)
Total	100.0	100.0	
(n)	(47)	(325)	

n=number of motion

Period 1 = June 1983 - May 1984

Period 2 = July 1984 - June 1987

At first glance, the data presented in Table 6.9 suggest that the agenda of local politics in Mainz only partially changed following the election of the Greens. In both periods under analysis, the five broad subject areas of environment, transport, social, planning and culture accounted for the the great proportion of all motions (59.6% in Period 1, 76.1% in Period 2).

Issues of an environmental nature dominated the local political agenda in Mainz in each period. However, a significant increase in the introduction of such issues was evident during the second period (+4.9%).

Figure 6.3

Mainz: Ranking of subject area categories

Rank Period 1	Subject area	Rank Period 2
1	Environment	1
4	Transport	2
5	Social	4
3	Planning	5
7	Culture	3
9	Administration	8
9	Military	12
2	Economics	9
13	Partnerships	7
13	Law and order	9
9	Democracy	14
9	Education	9
7	Youth	13
5	Other	6

Period 1 = June 1983 - May 1984

Period 2 = July 1984 - June 1987

Of particular relevance was the declining salience of motions with an economic subject matter over the course of the analysis. Whilst this category accounted for 17% of all motions introduced in Period 1, following the election of the Greens to the city council in 1984 only 2.2% of all motions were judged to belong to an economic subject area. The declining significance of the economic motions across the two time periods can be illustrated



by the category's change in rank with respect to the other subject areas (Figure 6.3. In Period 1 the economics heading was ranked second in importance to that of environment, whilst in Period 2 it only ranked ninth.

Other subject areas of increasing importance in Mainz during the second period were those of culture (+7.1%) and of transport (+6.6%). To a lesser extent, the social (+1.7%), partnerships (+3.4%) and law and order (+2.2%) categories also registered an increase in importance. The categories planning (-3.0%) and youth (-5.2%) were of declining significance. Only a negligible change in the proportion of motions belonging to the remaining subject area categories was recorded.

On the basis of such an analysis alone it is not possible to assert that there has been a fundamental shift in the agenda of Mainz' local politics since the election of the Greens to the city council in June 1984. Nevertheless, by examining the motions of the council groups of the established parties in Mainz for the two periods under review, it is possible to assess whether or not the changes outlined above have occurred as a result of the Greens' presence in Mainz or whether the increasing salience of certain issues has happened regardless of the Greens' presence.

Table 6.10 presents the same information as Table 6.9 above, with the exception that the Greens have now been excluded from the analysis.

Table 6.10

The changing agenda a local politics in Mainz:  
SPD, CDU and FDP motions, Periods 1 and 2

Subject area	Period 1 1983/84	Period 2 1984/87	Change in % +(-)
Environment	21.3	23.0	1.7
Transport	10.6	21.1	10.5
Social	8.5	7.7	(0.8)
Planning	12.8	10.5	(2.3)
Culture	6.4	16.3	9.9
Administration	2.1	2.9	0.8
Military	2.1	1.0	(1.1)
Economics	17.0	1.9	(15.1)
Partnerships	0.0	2.9	2.9
Law and order	0.0	2.4	2.4
Democracy	2.1	1.4	(0.7)
Education	2.1	3.3	1.2
Youth	6.4	1.0	(5.4)
Other	8.5	4.8	(3.7)
Total	100.0	100.2	

Period 1 = June 1983 - May 1984

Period 2 = July 1984 - June 1987

A comparison of the agendas of the two periods concerned shows differences between the priority accorded to certain subject areas by the established parties' council groups. The increasing salience of environmental issues, for example, was much less marked in the case of the established parties during Period 2 (+1.7%) than it was when the Greens' motions were incorporated into the analysis (+4.9%). Other subject areas witnessed a greater increase in the priority placed upon them by the SPD, CDU and FDP councillors. This applied particularly to the transport (+10.5%) and cultural (+9.9%) categories. The declining salience of motions with an economic subject area (-15.1%) was even more dramatic than that measured with the inclusion of the Greens

(-14.8%).

In certain areas, therefore, the established parties' councillors were discussing the same issues after the local election of June 1984 that were on the agenda prior to the Greens' entry to the city council. However, the greater relevance of environmental issues since July 1984 can be attributed largely to the presence of the Greens. Without the Greens only transport and cultural themes would have become significantly more important.

#### 6.3.1.1. Summary

On the basis of the data available and in the absence of a precise means by which such a concept can be operationalised, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that issues of the New Politics now dominate the agenda of local politics in Mainz. This is despite the fact that economics issues, regarded as belonging to the traditional agenda of West Germany's local politics, have been of declining relevance since the Greens' presence on the local council. Similarly, evidence that environmental, military and partnerships issues have become more important does not necessarily point towards the emergence of a New Politics agenda. Even prior to the Greens' entry to the city council, the environment category accounted for the majority of all motions initiated by the SPD, CDU and FDP council groups. Nevertheless, were the Greens absent from the Mainz city council, it is clear that motions with an environmental subject area would not have ranked so highly.

Given the difficulties inherent in attempts to prove the existence of a New Local Politics agenda in Mainz, greater

significance should perhaps be accorded to the extent to which each of the political parties has been able to represent certain issues at the local level. Is there evidence to suggest that the declining salience of economic issues and the relative increase in importance of environmental, cultural and transport issues derives directly from the Greens' involvement in Mainz' local politics?

#### 6.3.2. Subject areas of motions by initiating parties

In this section the subject areas of the motions of the individual council groups represented in Mainz will be examined. Although the motions of the first period preceding the election of the Greens to the Mainz council in 1984 will be used as a means of comparison for the motions of the established *Fraktionen*, greater attention will be paid to the period in which the Greens were represented.

Table 6.11 presents the absolute figures for the motions of the council groups represented in Mainz, whilst the corresponding percentages are given in Table 6.12. In subsequent sections, the small number of motions initiated by more than one council group (8 motions in Period 2) will be ignored. In all, 317 motions form the basis for the analysis to follow.

A comparison of the distribution of the motions of the SPD, CDU, FDP and Green council groups in Mainz across the 14 subject area headings allows certain conclusions to be drawn about their political priorities for a three-year period (Table 6.12; see also Figure 6.4).

Table 6.11

Motions by council group, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(absolute figures)

Subject area	SPD	CDU	Fraktion		Joint	Total
			FDP	Greens		
Environment	18	12	18	37	0	85
Transport	14	16	14	11	1	56
Social	10	3	3	15	2	33
Planning	7	10	5	9	1	32
Culture	12	16	6	10	0	44
Administration	2	2	2	3	0	9
Military	2	0	0	3	0	5
Economics	2	0	2	3	0	7
Partnerships	2	4	0	4	1	11
Law and order	3	1	1	2	0	7
Democracy	3	0	0	0	0	3
Education	2	3	2	0	0	7
Youth	1	1	1	1	1	4
Other	1	6	3	10	2	22
Total	79	74	56	108	8	325

Table 6.12

Motions by council group, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(in %)

Subject area	SPD	CDU	Fraktion		Total
			FDP	Greens	
Environment	22.8	16.2	32.1	34.3	26.8
Transport	17.7	21.6	25.0	10.2	17.4
Social	12.7	4.1	5.4	13.9	9.8
Planning	8.9	13.5	8.9	8.3	9.8
Culture	15.2	21.6	10.7	9.3	13.9
Administration	2.5	2.7	3.6	2.8	2.8
Military	2.5	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.6
Economics	2.5	0.0	3.6	2.8	2.2
Partnerships	2.5	5.4	0.0	3.7	3.2
Law and order	3.8	1.4	1.8	1.9	2.2
Democracy	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Education	2.5	4.1	3.6	0.0	2.2
Youth	1.3	1.4	0.0	0.9	0.9
Other	1.3	8.1	5.4	9.3	6.3
Total	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.2	100.0
(n)	(79)	(74)	(56)	(108)	(317)

n=number of motions  
excludes "joint" motions

Figure 6.4

Mainz: Ranking of subject areas by council groups  
(Period 2)

Subject area	Fraktion				
	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens	All
Environment	1	3	1	1	1
Transport	2	1	2	3	2
Social	4	7	5	2	4
Planning	5	4	4	6	4
Culture	3	1	3	4	3
Administration	8	9	7	8	8
Military	8	12	11	8	12
Economics	8	12	7	8	9
Partnerships	8	6	11	7	7
Law and order	6	10	10	11	9
Democracy	6	12	11	13	13
Education	8	7	7	13	9
Youth	13	10	11	11	13
Other	13	5	5	4	6

Excludes joint motions

Between 1984 and 1987 26.8% of all motions placed upon the agenda of council sessions in Mainz had an environmental subject area. As indicated above, the Greens were largely responsible for the predominance of this category of issues. In this respect there is little evidence to suggest that the Greens have forsaken their roots within the ecology movement. Given the fact that over one third (34.3%) of the motions introduced by the Mainz Green *Fraktion* between 1984 and 1987 belonged to the environmental category, it is evident that the party continues to attach the utmost significance to this particular subject area. Only the FDP accorded a similar priority to green issues during the period under analysis. Of the SPD's 79 motions, 22.8% fell into the environment category, whilst the corresponding figure for the CDU was just 16.2%. Environmental issues dominated the agendas of the

Greens, FDP and SPD council groups, but only ranked third in importance for the Christian Democrats. The CDU *Fraktion* accorded the areas of culture and transport a far greater degree of importance.

In the social category the Greens also initiated an above average proportion of motions. Whilst motions with a social subject area accounted for 9.8% of all motions initiated between 1984 and 1987, some 13.9% of Green motions belonged to the category. Social themes ranked lower in the priorities of each of the other council groups. Only the SPD came close to sharing the Greens' preference for social issues (rank 4), with both the FDP (rank 5) and CDU (rank 7) assigning the category a very low priority.

The Greens' contribution to the other main subject areas was less marked. This applied in particular to the areas of transport issues and cultural matters. Whereas transport issues comprised 17.4% of all motions introduced during the three years of the analysis, only 10.2% of the Green *Fraktion's* motions fell within this subject areas. The proportion of Green motions assigned to the culture category was 9.3%, whilst that of all the *Fraktionen* together was 13.9%.

In each of the subject areas outlined above, with the partial exception of the transport category in which the FDP place most priority, the Greens' position was furthest from that of the CDU. On this level at least it can be contended that the principal areas of differences in priority exist between the Greens and Christian Democrats.

In the remaining categories, the Greens' above average representation in the military category is important. Also of note is the comparatively high proportion of issues raised by the Greens which were assigned to the category "other". This is in itself a reflection of the Greens' tendency to accommodate new themes within the local politics of Mainz; themes which have traditionally been beyond the scope of the city's internal politics.

Table 6.13

Subject areas by initiating Fraktion, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(in %)

Subject area	SPD	CDU	Fraktion		Total	(n)
			FDP	Greens		
Environment	21.2	14.1	21.2	43.5	100.0	85
Transport	25.5	29.1	25.5	20.0	100.1	55
Social	32.3	9.7	9.7	48.4	100.1	31
Planning	22.6	32.3	16.1	29.0	100.0	31
Culture	27.3	36.4	13.6	22.7	100.0	44
Administration	22.2	22.2	22.2	33.3	99.9	9
Military	40.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	100.0	5
Economics	28.6	0.0	28.6	42.9	100.1	7
Partnerships	20.0	40.0	0.0	40.0	100.0	10
Law and order	42.9	14.3	14.3	28.6	100.1	7
Democracy	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	3
Education	28.6	42.9	28.6	0.0	100.1	7
Youth	33.3	33.3	0.0	33.3	99.9	3
Other	5.0	30.0	15.0	50.0	100.0	20
Total	24.9	23.3	17.7	34.1	100.0	
(n)	(79)	(74)	(56)	(108)		(317)

n=number of motions

Excludes joint motions

Table 6.13 shows the proportion of motions submitted in each subject area by the individual council groups. The figures allow



judgments to be made about the extent to which particular parties have been able to assert their dominance over relevant issues in the local politics of Mainz.

In two subject areas in particular - social and environment - the Greens introduced by far the greatest proportion of all motions. 48.4% of the social motions and 43.5% of environmental motions were initiated by the Greens between July 1984 and June 1987 (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). In each case the CDU contributed the least number of motions, initiating only 9.7% of all motions with a social subject area. This figure was matched by the much smaller FDP Fraktion.

Figure 6.5

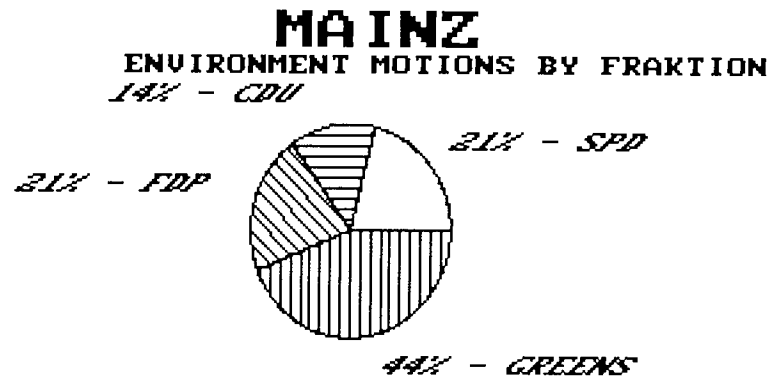
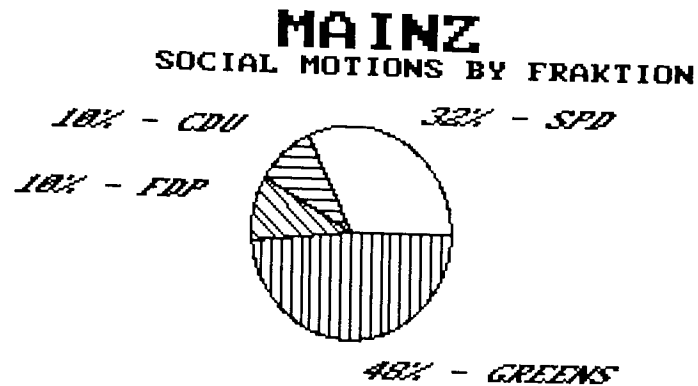
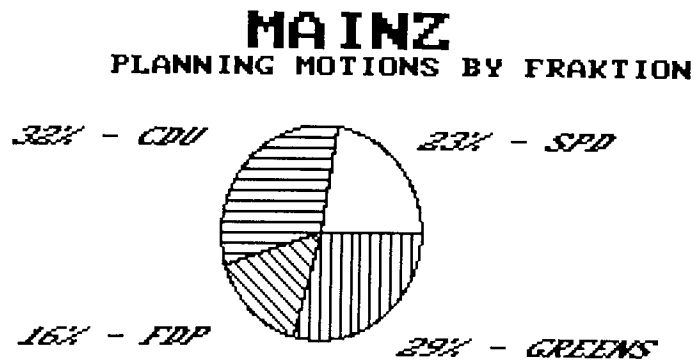


Figure 6.6



Despite the subject area's comparatively low ranking within the Greens' own motions, the party was also well represented in the planning category with 29%. Only the CDU *Fraktion* initiated more motions in the planning area than the Greens (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7



The two principal subject areas in which the Greens were least

well represented during the period of the analysis were those of transport and culture, introducing 20% and 22.7% of all motions respectively in each (Figures 6.8 and 6.9).

Figure 6.8

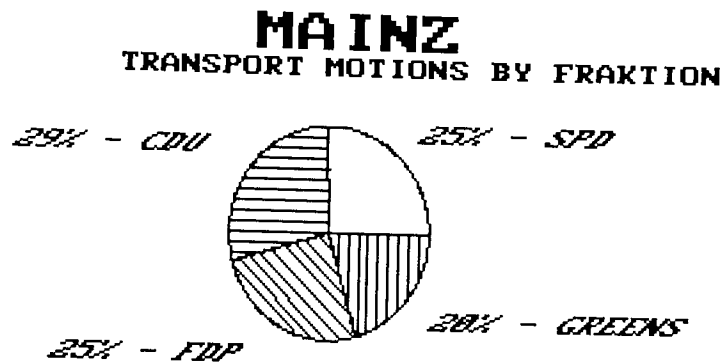
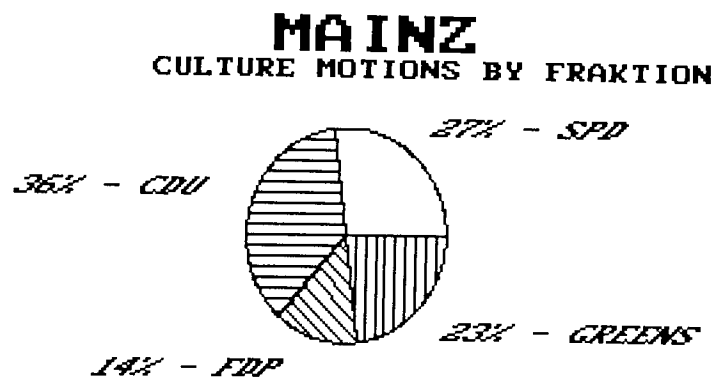


Figure 6.9



Whilst it is evident that these subject areas do not hold a high priority status within Green policy-making in Mainz, it is not possible to suggest that the party has totally ignored issues belonging to either category.

In the more minor subject areas of the classification there are considerable variations in the proportion of motions initiated by individual of the council groups. Although this partly derives from the low numbers of motions involved in each case, some interesting observations arise. In the military category, for example, only the Greens and SPD submitted motions; the Greens being responsible for 3 of the 5 (60%). In the area of partnerships the Greens and CDU were responsible for the same proportion of motions raised (40% or 4 each). The SPD on the other hand was the only Fraktion to raise issues belonging to the democracy subject area.

#### 6.3.3. Summary: Subject areas of Mainz motions

The analysis of the subject areas of the motions introduced by the Mainz council groups between July 1984 and June 1987 provides a means of identifying the policy-making priorities of each. On the basis of the information available it is not possible to prove conclusively the emergence of a new agenda in the local politics of Mainz following the election of the Greens to the city council in 1984. Nevertheless, certain trends suggest that there has been a certain movement towards issues generally identified with the New Politics (environmentalism, military and partnerships) and a decline in the significance of more traditional issues (economics).

The priorities of the individual council groups varied quite considerably. Whereas the Greens favoured the areas of environmental and social policy, the CDU laid most emphasis upon transport and cultural issues. Both the SPD and FDP concentrated upon environmental and transport issues during the course of the analysis.

On the basis of the analysis of the differing subject area priorities of the Mainz council groups it is possible to suggest that the greatest potential for conflict within the local party system in Mainz existed between the Greens and CDU. This feature will be addressed more precisely in the following sections.

However, before proceeding to identify the sources of conflict within the local party system in Mainz, it is necessary to establish whether variations occurred in the level of consensus affecting the council groups' motions for the periods preceding and following the Greens election to the city council.

In the next section, therefore, the amount of conflict measured within the city council in Mainz is to be assessed. This will allow us to ascertain whether the Greens have contributed towards a decline in the degree of consensus marking the city's local politics. Also of interest is the subject area of issues giving rise to conflict.

#### 6.4. Conflict dimensions in Mainz

In this section the second hypothesis raised at the beginning of the chapter is to be tested. It has been suggested that the Greens have contributed to a decline in the degree of consensus affecting local party systems in the Federal Republic and that this decline has partially occurred as a result of the discussion of New Politics issues at local level. In the previous section, difficulties inherent in attempts to place individual motions into either New or Old Politics categories were identified. As a result, this section will concentrate upon identifying the existence of conflict and an examination of the origins of such conflict. This task is to be undertaken by reference to the decisions made by the city's council groups with respect to the motions discussed in the previous sections.

##### 6.4.1. Types of council decision

There are a number of decisions which can result from the discussion of a particular motion in a local council chamber. However, for the purposes of this analysis two basic types of decision were identified. On the one hand, motions which resulted in a unanimous resolution of the four council groups represented in Mainz were judged to be "consensual". On the other, motions which gave rise to an element of disagreement were regarded as being "conflictual". Each of these broad categories incorporates a series of additional council decisions witnessed during the period under discussion in Mainz.

Figure 6.10 indicates the the types of decision which fall into each of the basic categories.

Figure 6.10

Mainz: Conflict dimensions of local council resolutionsType of decision

Unanimously accepted		--- Unanimous		--- CONSENSUAL
Unanimously accepted (amended)				
Unanimously referred				
Unanimously referred (amended)				
Accepted by majority		--- Majority		--- CONFLICTUAL
Accepted by majority (amended)				
Referred by majority				
Referred by majority (amended)				
Rejected		--- Rejected		
Removed from agenda		--- Removed		
Other decision				

All decisions made in unison by the Mainz council groups were judged to belong to the category "consensus". This included motions unanimously accepted by the council, those unanimously accepted in amended form, those unanimously referred to council committee and those unanimously referred to committee in amended form.

A second category of decision involved a degree of conflict. Motions subject to conflictual decisions were broken down in two stages. In a first stage, the nature of the conflict was determined. In the second stage, the motions were established as being conflictual (see Figure 6.10). Motions which were accepted by a majority, accepted by a majority in amended form, referred by a majority, referred by a majority in amended form, rejected

by the majority of council members or removed from the agenda of council sessions contain a conflictual element.

Several motions in the Mainz study were subject to other types of decision. A number were withdrawn prior to the relevant council session by the initiating *Fraktion*, others were resolved without the necessity of a vote in the plenary session following a statement by members of the council executive. A very small number of motions was subject to decisions which could not readily be placed in either of the categories developed. In such cases certain sections of the motion were approved unanimously by the council whilst others were subject to a majority decision. For methodological reasons this group was also placed into the category "other" decision.

The categorisation of the types of decision made affecting individual motions into two such broad categories as "consensual" and "conflictual" inevitably involves a number of assumptions. No judgment, for example, can be placed upon the motives of a particular council group or upon individual councillors for supporting the referral of a motion to council committee (by far the most common council resolution). It is conceivable, for instance, that a council group could reject the policy implications involved in a particular issue, yet still vote for its referral for tactical reasons - be it as part of a reciprocal arrangement with the initiating *Fraktion*, in order to assure its amendment in council committee to the group's own satisfaction, or even to introduce an element of delay.

Nevertheless, there was sufficient evidence in Mainz to suggest



that whenever council groups opposed a particular motion in principle, this opposition was reflected in their decision on the initiative. As a result, genuine sources of conflict were reflected in the majority decisions made.

Table 6.14 shows the frequencies of the basic types of decision made during Period 2 of the analysis.

Table 6.14

Frequencies of decision types, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(absolute figures and in %)

Type of decision	Frequency	%
Unanimously accepted	10	3.1
Unanimously accepted (amended)	1	0.3
Unanimously referred	203	62.5
Unanimously referred (amended)	11	3.4
Accepted by majority	5	1.5
Accepted by majority (amended)	7	2.2
Referred by majority	26	8.0
Referred by majority (amended)	5	1.5
Rejected	31	9.5
Removed	8	2.5
Other	18	5.5
Total	325	100.0

By far the most common decision made by the council in Mainz was the unanimous referral of motions to the council's specialist committees, occurring in 62.5% of cases. When other, smaller unanimous decision categories are added to this figure the total rises to 69.3%. By combining the majority decision categories (see Figure 6.10 above), 13.2% of the initiatives introduced between 1984 and 1987 were supported by more than half of the

councillors. The remaining categories required no further adjustment.

#### 6.4.2. Levels of conflict in Mainz 1983-1987

The categorisation of the decision types makes a comparison possible between the levels of conflict within the Mainz city council for the periods preceding and following the 1984 local election.

Table 6.15

Mainz: levels of conflict 1983-1987  
(absolute figures and in %)

Type of decision	Period 1		Period 2		Periods 1 & 2	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Consensus	89.4	42	73.3	225	75.4	267
Conflictual	10.6	5	26.7	82	24.6	87
Total	100.0	47	100.0	307	100.0	354

(n)=number of motions  
excludes "other" decisions

Period 1 = June 1983 - May 1984  
Period 2 = July 1984 - June 1987

Although one might expect the period prior to an election to be more greatly marked by conflict between the council groups in a particular community, with each *Fraktion* seeking to clarify its position on key issues for the benefit of the electorate, this was not the case in Mainz in Period 1 of the survey (June 1983 to May 1984). Almost 90% of all motions submitted by the established parties' council groups resulted in unanimous resolutions (Table 6.15). This serves to symbolise the all-encompassing nature of

the Mainz Model, with agreement on all important policy and personnel matters being reached in unison.

In contrast to the relatively high levels of unanimity recorded in the period preceding the Greens' election to the city council, the second period of the analysis witnessed a marked increase in conflict. Between 1984 and 1987 the proportion of conflictual decisions made in the Mainz city council increased to 26.7%. During Period 1 of the analysis this figure was only 10.6%.

Whilst the overwhelming majority of decisions continued to be made in unison by the four council groups in Mainz, it is clear that the period following the election of the Greens was more confrontational. This fact supports the contention that the election of the Greens represented a major feature underlying the declining levels of unanimity in Mainz. However, the extent to which the Greens were responsible for the increasing amount of conflict within the Mainz party system can be shown more clearly. This results from an examination of the decisions made with respect to the motions of the individual council groups.

This question will be addressed in section 6.4.3. below. First, it is necessary to examine variations in the level of conflict between 1984 and 1987. Although on average over 70% of all motions resulted in a unanimous decision, it is likely that this figure would vary considerably during the three years of the analysis. Some periods were likely to be marked by a greater degree of conflict than others. It is important, therefore, to examine the reasons for any variations discovered and to

establish whether or not any obvious trends over the period could be identified.

#### 6.4.2.1. Levels of conflict by council session

A general increase in the level of conflict within the Mainz party system following the Greens' election to the city council in June 1984 has been identified. In this section closer attention is to be paid to variations in the level of conflict witnessed over the course of the period under analysis. This will provide a means of identifying potential links between political events in Mainz and varying levels of consensus.

The 325 motions introduced by the four council groups in Mainz between July 1984 and June 1987 were spread across 35 council sessions. Significant variations in the level of consensus were recorded during this period. In this respect, certain council meetings were more consensual than others. No conflict was registered at all in 5 sessions (69). In others, there was a disproportionately low level of conflict, with over 80% of motions being agreed in unison by the four council groups represented (a further 9 cases).

However, in certain council meetings a high level of conflict arose. In the very first meeting following the Greens' election, for example, 3 of the 4 motions on the council agenda created conflict. In a further 5 council sessions 50% or more of the motions created an element of conflict (70).

Despite this wide variation, it was not possible to identify a consistent trend with regard to the level of conflict registered

in the Mainz council chamber. Sessions in which conflict had been particularly marked were followed directly by relatively consensual council meetings. Similarly, council sessions characterised by above average levels of unanimity preceded sessions in which a high proportion of motions had led to some form of conflict.

A number of factors, acting either alone or concurrently, could lead to such variations in the degree of consensus between meetings of the Mainz city council. Of particular relevance in this study are possible linkages to the changing political context in which the sessions were located, the particular *Fraktion* responsible for initiating the motions on the agenda and the subject areas of the motions.

#### 6.4.2.2. The political context of the council sessions

Inevitably, the level of unanimity recorded in meetings of the Mainz city council was affected by the political context of the individual council session. Evidence suggests, for example, that council meetings characterised by low levels of consensus tended to coincide with conflict arising in other aspects of the city council's activities.

Thus the session on 7 November 1984, in which three quarters of the motions introduced resulted in conflict, coincided with the election of two CDU members to the council executive (see Chapter 5). The opposition of the left-wing of the Mainz SPD and the Greens to this event was translated into confrontation with regard to the motions under debate in the relevant council session. Similarly, in the council meeting held on 21 May 1986,

the fact that 5 of the 9 motions introduced (55.6%) caused conflict can be linked to events surrounding the Chernobyl nuclear accident in the Soviet Union. The Greens' sought to exploit this occasion to commit Mainz to a rejection of the Federal Republic's nuclear energy programme and secure the city's withdrawal from its limited reliance upon nuclear power. A further meeting on 10 December 1986 saw 3 out of the 5 motions initiated result in some form of conflict. This meeting can be placed within the context of events surrounding the course of a peace movement demonstration in Mainz, broken up by the police in an unusual manner. The lowest level of consensus was recorded in the final council session to be included within the analysis, that of 24 June 1987. In this council meeting, the CDU and SPD council groups were at odds over the appointment of further members to the council executive.

In this respect, it is possible to identify some party political causes of conflict arising within sessions of the city council. Nevertheless, on other occasions in which one might have anticipated conflict, meetings passed quietly. In December 1985, for instance, a council meeting which followed immediately upon the collapse of the budgetary talks between the Greens and the SPD still resulted in over half of the motions introduced being passed in unison (55.6%). In the first meeting of 1986 this figure rose to 80%. It is much easier to identify factors underlying above average levels of conflict, than those responsible for above average levels of unanimity. With this in mind, it would appear that the causes of variations in the degree

of consensus affecting individual council sessions are of a more complex nature. The evidence is that the variations were not simply related to the course of political events in Mainz.

In the next section attention will be paid to a further variable which could possibly be responsible for varying levels of conflict in the case of Mainz - the council group responsible for initiating the motions. In this context it will be possible to judge whether the Greens' motions were more conflictual by their nature than those of the established political parties' council groups.

#### 6.4.3. Types of decision by initiating Fraktion

In the control period preceding the entry of the Greens to the Mainz city council high levels of agreement between the council groups were recorded, irrespective of the initiating *Fraktion* (Table 6.16). In the case of the FDP each of the *Fraktion's* eight motions of the period resulted in a unanimous decision being made. Both the CDU and SPD secured all party support for over four fifths of their parliamentary initiatives. Of the conflictual motions only the SPD had motions rejected outright by the council and this occurred just twice. During this period no clear link could be established between the *Fraktion* which introduced a particular motion to the council and the council's ultimate decision with respect to the motion.

Table 6.16

Council decisions by initiating Fraktion, Mainz  
(Period 1 in %)

Decision	Initiating Fraktion			All
	SPD	CDU	FDP	
a) Unanimous	86.4	87.5	100.0	89.1
Majority	4.5	12.5	0.0	6.5
Rejected	9.1	0.0	0.0	4.3
Removed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
b) Conflictual	13.6	12.5	0.0	10.8
Sum (a+b)	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
(n)	(22)	(16)	(8)	(46)

n=number of motions

Excludes "other" decisions

Period 1=June 1983-May 1984

Table 6.17

Council decisions by initiating Fraktion, Mainz  
(Period 2 in %)

Decision	Initiating Fraktion				All
	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens	
a) Unanimous	85.7	78.9	79.6	56.1	73.3
Majority	13.0	12.7	9.3	17.3	13.7
Rejected	1.3	8.5	11.1	18.4	10.3
Removed	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.2	2.7
b) Conflictual	14.3	21.2	20.4	43.9	26.7
Sum (a+b)	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	(77)	(71)	(54)	(98)	(300)

n=number of motions

Excludes "other" decisions and joint motions

Period 2 = July 1984-June 1987

The experience following the Greens' election in June 1984



directly contrasted with that of the control period (Table 6.17). Between July 1984 and June 1987 a very strong link was identified between the initiating council group and the resolution affecting their parliamentary initiatives.

This link was most pronounced for the Greens. Whilst 73.3% of all council motions initiated during the three year period were accepted or referred to committee unanimously, this applied to only 56.1% of Green motions. By contrast, 81.7% of the established parties' motions gained all party support. Whereas the Greens were responsible for initiating almost one third of all motions (32.7%), only a quarter of the consensual motions stemmed from the Fraktion. Over half (53.8%) of all conflictual motions introduced between July 1984 and June 1987 in Mainz belonged to the Greens (Table 6.18).

Table 6.18

Conflictual motions by initiating Fraktion, Mainz  
1984-1987 (in %)

	Fraktion				
	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens	All
%	13.8	18.8	13.8	53.8	100.2
(n)	11	15	11	43	80

Excludes joint motions and "other" decisions

On the basis of the information presented in Table 6.18, it is apparent that Greens were responsible for initiating more conflictual motions during the period of the analysis than the other council groups combined. The SPD and FDP contributed 11

motions each (13.8%) towards a total of 80 conflictual motions and the CDU accounted for 15 (18.8%).

As a result, it is evident that the Greens were largely responsible for the unprecedented degree of conflict registered in the Mainz party system between 1984 and 1987. Each of the other council groups were far more successful than the Greens in terms of the support gained from other council groups for their measures. The SPD in particular continued to achieve a high level of support for its proposals. Over 85% of SPD motions were passed unanimously; a figure similar to that registered for the party during the period preceding the election of the Greens to the city council (86.4%). Both the CDU and FDP experienced a greater degree of opposition to their proposals following the Greens' election than had previously been the case, but still gained all party support in the first instance for almost 80% of their motions. It can be inferred that these lower levels of support for the CDU and FDP motions was itself a result of the Greens' presence in the council chamber.

If the conflictual motions are subjected to a more precise analysis the antagonistic role of the Greens in the local politics of Mainz can be more clearly identified. Of the 31 motions rejected outright by the Mainz council between 1984 and 1987, 58.1% were introduced by the Greens. This proportion is three times that pertaining to the initiatives of either the CDU or FDP council groups. The SPD only suffered outright defeat on one occasion during the same time period. In a further category, in which motions were removed from the agenda of the council

meeting, only the Greens were represented. In all, 8 Green initiatives were voted off the agenda of council meetings (representing 8.2% of the *Fraktion's* motions).

#### 6.4.4. Sources of conflict in the local party system in Mainz

The evidence suggests, that the Greens lie at the heart of increasing conflict in the local politics of Mainz. Such conflict was largely absent from the period prior to the Greens' election to the city council in June 1984. In this section it is necessary to ascertain whether the incidence of conflict in Mainz is restricted to the Greens, or whether it has spilled over to affect the other parties. This will involve an identification of the levels of non-Green *Fraktion* conflict in Mainz between 1984 and 1987.

The basis for such a study is provided by an analysis of the voting patterns of the established parties' council groups with regard to both the Greens' and their own initiatives. If the 18 motions which resulted in a decision falling into the "other" category and the 8 motions introduced by more than one *Fraktion* are ignored, 300 motions can be assessed. 98 of these motions were initiated by the Greens and 202 by the established parties.

In Table 6.19 the decisions made by the established parties' council groups with respect to the Greens' motions are shown. The data clearly indicate the origins of party political conflict in Mainz.

Table 6.19

Green Fraktion motions by established party groups' decisions, Mainz, 1984-1987

Decision	Fraktion		
	SPD	CDU	FDP
Accept	10.1	4.3	4.4
Refer	74.2	59.1	59.3
Reject	9.0	30.1	29.7
Remove	6.7	6.5	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	(89)	(93)	(91)
(Missing)	(9)	(5)	(7)

n=number of valid cases

Whereas the CDU and FDP recorded high levels of opposition to the initiatives of the Green Fraktion, the SPD was far more reserved. In 10.1% of cases the Social Democrats supported the motive underlying a particular initiative and in an additional 74.2% of cases they agreed to the further discussion of Green motions in committee. The preference for the treatment of such Green issues in committee could be regarded as a tactical manoeuvre by the SPD Fraktion. In a number of cases the Greens sought to expose the SPD's lack of commitment to party policy by adapting their manifesto proposals and introducing them into council sessions in the form of a motion. Where these issues were no longer a priority matter for the SPD Fraktion or where there was perceived to be no means of funding their implementation, the referral of the motion to committee could be regarded as a means of saving face.

Table 6.20

SPD, CDU and FDP motions:  
decisions by Fraktion, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(in %)

Decision	SPD	CDU	FDP	Greens
Accept	7.5	8.0	7.1	6.6
Refer	85.5	86.0	87.4	83.8
Reject	7.0	6.0	5.6	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
(n)	(200)	(200)	(198)	(197)
(Missing)	(2)	(2)	(4)	(5)

n=number of valid cases

The decisions affecting the motions of the three established party groups in the Mainz city council were substantially different to those affecting the Greens' initiatives (Table 6.20). The 202 motions of the SPD, CDU and FDP were subjected to practically the same type of decision from all parties. Even the Green council group supported the referral of over 80% of the established parties' motions to committee, with only 9.6% being rejected by the *Fraktion*.

This analysis points clearly towards the existence of differing voting patterns according to the *Fraktion* responsible for initiating particular motions. Green motions were subject to much higher levels of conflict than those of the established parties. The Greens' initiatives tended to raise more opposition from the CDU and FDP than from the SPD. However, this feature does not apply in reverse. On the contrary, the Greens tend to treat the motions of the established party groups in identical fashion to these groups themselves.

Without the participation of the Greens, the evidence presented in this section suggests that the Mainz city council would have continued to be characterised by consensual decision-making processes and all-party agreement. Indeed, the Greens' preference for referring the established parties' motions to committee suggests that were the party denied the right to initiate motions, they would have done little to alter the degree of consensus with regard to council motions.

The *Fraktion* responsible for initiating motions in a particular council session exerts a major influence upon the level of conflict affecting the meeting. As a result, sessions marked by low levels of Green activity were more likely to be consensual than those in which the Greens were responsible for a high proportion of the initiatives on the agenda.

In the context of this analysis, both the political context of the individual council sessions and the *Fraktion* responsible for introducing motions in the relevant session represent key contributory factors underlying differing levels of conflict in Mainz between 1984 and 1987.

In the next section a third variable will be introduced: the subject area of the motions in question. It is necessary to ascertain the nature of those issues which caused most conflict within the Mainz party system.

#### 6.4.5. Subject areas of conflict in Mainz

This section examines the council resolutions with regard to the motions debated in the Mainz city council between 1984 and 1987 and their subject areas. This allows light to be cast upon the nature of the issues which gave rise to conflict.

Table 6.21

Degree of consensus by subject area, Mainz, 1984-1987  
(absolute figures and in %)

	Consensus % (n)	Conflict % (n)	Total % (n)
Environment	83.1 69	16.9 14	100.0 83
Transport	80.8 42	19.2 10	100.0 52
Social	80.6 25	19.4 6	100.0 31
Planning	63.3 19	36.7 11	100.0 30
Culture	79.1 34	20.9 9	100.0 43
Administration	50.0 4	50.0 4	100.0 8
Military	20.0 1	80.0 4	100.0 5
Economics	50.0 3	50.0 3	100.0 6
Partnerships	33.3 3	66.7 6	100.0 9
Law and order	42.9 3	57.1 4	100.0 7
Democracy	100.0 3	0.0 0	100.0 3
Education	71.4 5	28.6 2	100.0 7
Youth	50.0 2	50.0 2	100.0 4
Other	63.2 12	36.8 7	100.0 19
Total	73.3 225	26.7 82	100.0 307

n=number of valid cases

Excludes "other" decisions

Table 6.21 links the type of council decisions to the individual subject area categories of the analysis. The data support the assertion that particular issues are, by their nature, more conflictual than others.

The subject area categories which led to the lowest amount of conflict in Mainz were those of environment, transport, social, culture and democracy. Whilst 26.7% of all motions introduced by the Mainz council groups gave rise to a conflictual decision, this applied to only 16.9% of the motions with an environmental subject area. In the transport, social and culture categories the respective figures were 19.2%, 19.4% and 20.9%. Under the less significant democracy heading, for which the SPD was responsible for all motions introduced, each initiative resulted in a unanimous resolution by the council.

In contrast to such levels of unanimity, a number of categories attracted above average levels of conflict. Under the larger subject area headings only planning motions aroused a significant degree of controversy, with 11 of the 30 motions in question leading to a majority decision (36.7%). However, minor subject area categories, such as partnerships, military, law and order and administration were all characterised by high levels of conflict. Four of the five motions in the military category, for example, resulted in disagreement of some form or other, whilst two thirds of initiatives relating to town partnerships led to conflict.

Again, it is necessary to return to the difficulties inherent in



attempts to identify the existence of a New Politics agenda at local level. An analysis of the differing types of decisions affecting motions of the various subject areas largely confirms the belief that there is no straightforward means of establishing whether local party systems are characterised by a cleavage along a New-Old Politics dimension. Problems linked to the categorisation of issues into New and Old Politics groups have already been identified. An additional difficulty arises with regard to the decisions affecting motions of particular subject areas. The fact that environmental issues tend to be uncontroversial in the case of Mainz does not allow the conclusion to be drawn that the New Politics have become an established feature of local political life and no longer lead to conflict. This area requires further clarification in other studies. All that can be stated for definite is that certain issues tend to be more conflictual than others. However, as previously discussed, the existence of conflict at all is itself indicative of the changing style of local politics in Mainz and elsewhere in the Federal Republic.

In this section a link has been drawn between the degree of consensus affecting council initiatives and their corresponding subject areas. It is now necessary to discover whether this link existed for the motions of each of the Mainz council groups in the same form. The question to be addressed is whether Green motions in the environment category are more conflictual than those of the other political parties.

6.4.6. Decisions affecting the motions of council groups by subject area categories

The Mainz Greens have been shown to have been responsible for introducing a greater proportion of the conflictual issues than the three other council groups combined. This section seeks to ascertain the extent to which the subject areas of the parties' initiatives played a role in the resolutions affecting them.

In Table 6.22 the degree of consensus affecting the initiatives of the Mainz council groups between 1984 and 1987 is displayed by subject area, whilst Table 6.23 gives details of the proportion of conflictual motions within each subject area emanating from each *Fraktion*. When read in conjunction, the data presented in the tables indicate notable variations in the levels of conflict affecting the motions of the Mainz council groups with respect to their subject areas.

The most striking finding to be drawn from this data is that in every subject area, in which the Green *Fraktion* initiated motions, these motions led to a greater amount of conflict than those of the other council groups. Not only were the Mainz Greens responsible for initiating more than half of all conflictual motions, therefore, this conflictual element characterised their initiatives irrespective of the subject area to which they belonged.

Table 6.22

Degree of consensus by subject areas and initiating Fraktion,  
Mainz, 1984-1987

Subject area	Fraktion							
	SPD		CDU		FDP		GREENS	
	Consensus	Conflict	Consensus	Conflict	Consensus	Conflict	Consensus	Conflict
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Environment	94.4 17	5.6 1	100.0 11	0.0 0	77.8 14	22.2 4	75.0 27	25.0 9
Transport	84.6 11	15.4 2	92.9 13	7.1 1	76.9 10	23.1 3	72.7 8	27.3 3
Social	100.0 10	0.0 0	66.7 2	33.3 1	100.0 3	0.0 0	64.3 9	35.7 5
Planning	71.4 5	28.6 2	80.0 8	20.0 2	60.0 3	40.0 2	28.6 2	71.4 5
Culture	83.3 10	16.7 2	81.3 13	18.8 3	100.0 6	0.0 0	55.6 5	44.4 4
Administration	50.0 1	50.0 1	0.0 0	100.0 2	100.0 2	0.0 0	50.0 1	50.0 1
Military	50.0 1	50.0 1	na	na	na	na	0.0 0	100.0 3
Economics	100.0 2	0.0 0	na	na	0.0 0	100.0 1	33.3 1	66.7 2
Partnerships	100.0 1	0.0 0	50.0 2	50.0 2	na	na	0.0 0	100.0 3
Law and order	66.7 2	33.3 1	100.0 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	100.0 1	0.0 0	100.0 2
Democracy	100.0 3	0.0 0	na	na	na	na	na	na
Education	100.0 2	0.0 0	33.3 1	66.7 2	100.0 2	0.0 0	na	na
Youth	0.0 0	100.0 1	100.0 1	0.0 0	na	na	0.0 0	100.0 1
Other	100.0 1	0.0 0	66.7 4	33.3 2	100.0 3	0.0 0	28.6 2	71.4 5
Total	85.7 66	14.3 11	78.9 56	21.1 15	79.6 43	20.4 11	56.1 55	43.9 43

n=number of valid cases

na = not applicable

Excludes "other" decisions

Nevertheless, Green motions belonging to certain subject areas were more consensual than those in other categories. This also applied to the motions of the other council groups in Mainz. Within the 14 subject area categories variations in the levels of

conflict affecting the motions of the four council groups were discernible. This was particularly evident in the four subject area categories in which all motions initiated by the Green *Fraktion* aroused dissent. This applied to the categories of military, partnerships, law and order and youth.

Table 6.23

Conflictual motions by subject area and initiating Fraktion,  
Mainz, 1984-1987

Subject area	SPD (n)	CDU (n)	FDP (n)	Greens (n)	All (n)
Environment	7.1 1	0.0 0	28.6 4	64.3 9	17.5 14
Transport	22.2 2	11.1 1	33.3 3	33.3 3	11.3 9
Social	0.0 0	16.7 1	0.0 0	83.3 5	7.5 6
Planning	18.2 2	18.2 2	18.2 2	45.5 5	13.8 11
Culture	22.2 2	33.3 3	0.0 0	44.4 4	11.3 9
Administration	25.0 1	50.0 2	0.0 0	25.0 1	5.0 4
Military	25.0 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	75.0 3	5.0 4
Economics	0.0 0	0.0 0	33.3 1	66.7 2	3.8 3
Partnerships	0.0 0	40.0 2	0.0 0	60.0 3	6.3 5
Law and order	25.0 1	0.0 0	25.0 1	50.0 2	5.0 4
Education	0.0 0	100.0 2	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.5 2
Youth	50.0 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	50.0 1	2.5 2
Other	0.0 0	28.6 2	0.0 0	71.4 5	8.8 7
Total	13.8 11	18.8 15	13.8 11	53.8 43	100.0 80

n=number of valid cases

Excludes "other" decisions and joint motions

Even in the environmental category in which the Greens recorded their highest level of unanimity, with 75% of the *Fraktion's* motions gaining all-party support, the Greens were responsible for introducing 64.3% of all conflictual motions. The environmental motions of the established parties' council groups tended to be of a far more consensual nature than those of the Greens. The SPD, for example, gained unanimous support for all but one of its 18 environmental motions, whilst each of the CDU's motions in this category received unanimous backing. Only the FDP approached the Greens' level of conflict in this category, 4 of their 14 motions (77.8%) leading to a majority decision of some type.

In the social category the Greens were again responsible for introducing the great proportion of conflictual motions. 83.3% of such motions (5 out of 6) were placed upon the council agenda by the Greens. Only the CDU was represented in the conflictual motions of this category in addition to the Greens, albeit with only a single initiative. Neither the SPD nor the FDP encountered opposition to their motions with a social subject area over the course of the analysis.

Of all the subject areas included within the classification that of planning was responsible for causing most conflict irrespective of the *Fraktion* responsible for introducing the relevant motions. Whilst the Greens' planning motions were most likely to give rise to conflict - only 2 of the *Fraktion's* 7 motions in this subject area were passed unanimously - the other council groups were responsible for a further 2 conflictual

planning motions each. Taking account of the differing policy priorities of the established parties' council groups, this represented 40% of FDP, 28.6% of SPD and 20% of CDU planning motions.

Variations in the level of unanimity affecting the council groups' motions also arose in the culture category. Whereas only 4 of the Greens' 9 motions with a cultural subject area resulted in a unanimous resolution, the FDP received all-party support for each of its 6 cultural motions. Both the SPD and CDU received unanimous backing for over 80% of their initiatives in this category.

The final subject area category to which attention will be drawn in this section is that of partnerships. In this case a clear difference was also found in the decisions made affecting the Greens' initiatives and those of the established parties' council groups. Whereas each of the Greens' 3 partnerships motions resulted in a conflictual decision, the CDU had an equal proportion of motions in both categories and the SPD received all-party support for its single initiative.

This invites the conclusion that the Greens' motions were, in general, more provocative than those of the established parties' council groups, irrespective of the subject area to which they belong. However, when the subject area of the motions was taken into consideration, the evidence suggests that the party's initiatives in selected subject areas were even more conflictual than those belonging to others.

In the next section the Greens' motions will be investigated independently of those of the other council groups, with regard to their subject area and the type of resolution they elicited. It should then be possible to establish a ranking of the levels of conflict affecting Green motions of the differing subject areas.

#### **6.4.6.1. Conflict dimensions of Green motions**

Given the existence of a strong link between the subject area of the Greens' motions and the council resolution regarding them, it is worthwhile examining in closer detail the precise type of decision made to take account of differing levels of conflict. It will then be possible to identify factors underlying such variations.

Table 6.24 provides more detailed information about the nature of the council decisions made in respect of the Green motions introduced during the three-year period of the Mainz analysis for which the relevant information is available (71). The data corroborate the finding established previously of the existence of a very strong link between the subject area of the Greens' motions and the degree of unanimity affecting them.

The level of all-party support arising from the *Fraktion's* environmental motions is of great relevance. Three quarters of all motions belonging to this category were either accepted or referred to committee unanimously by the four council groups. A further 5 environmental motions (13.9%) were the subject of a majority decision in their favour. This indicates that the Greens gained the support of at least one of the large council groups,

most commonly of the SPD, for these initiatives. Only four Green motions with an environmental subject matter were rejected outright in the first instance (11.1% of the group's motions in this category).

Table 6.24

Green Fraktion motions by subject area and decision,  
Mainz, 1984-1987 (in %)

Subject area	Decision				
	Unanimous	Majority	Rejected	Removed	Total
Environment	75.0 (27)	13.9 (5)	11.1 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (36)
Transport	72.7 (8)	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)
Social	64.3 (9)	14.3 (2)	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	100.0 (14)
Planning	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	28.6 (2)	28.6 (2)	100.1 (7)
Culture	55.6 (5)	22.2 (2)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Administration	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)
Military	0.0 (0)	66.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	33.3 (1)	100.0 (3)
Economics	33.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	66.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (3)
Partnerships	0.0 (0)	33.3 (1)	33.3 (1)	33.3 (1)	99.9 (3)
Law and order	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)
Youth	0.0 (0)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (1)
Other	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	28.6 (2)	28.6 (2)	100.1 (7)
Total	56.1 (55)	17.3 (17)	18.4 (18)	8.2 (8)	100.0 (98)

Excludes "other" decisions

The Mainz Greens were most successful in an area in which they possessed a degree of technical expertise. Motions based on the



Greens' detailed knowledge of ecological matters tended not to be dismissed so readily by the council groups of the established political parties as were motions in other subject area categories. This reflects both the established parties' informational deficit on environmental issues and the Greens' internal decision-making processes with regard to environmental themes. The two Green *Fraktion* working groups operating in this area - the environmental protection group and the ecology group tended to fulfil their duties in a different way to other party working groups. Great stress was placed by the (Realist dominated) environmentalists upon the practicalities of introducing policies which would have some chance of implementation. Other working groups tended to work at a more abstract level.

In other subject areas the Greens' initiatives led to a disproportionately high level of conflict within the Mainz city council. This applied particularly to the subject areas of partnerships and military in which all Green motions were subject to some degree of conflict and in which the Greens had motions removed from the agenda of council sessions - the most extreme form of conflict possible. In the two subject areas of law and order and youth the Greens also failed to gain all-party support for any of their motions, although the number of motions involved was perhaps too small to be able to draw significant conclusions. Other subject areas in which there was a disproportionately high level of conflict affecting Green motions were planning and economics. The category "other" also was under-represented in the

consensual category.

This analysis illustrates the differing attitudes of the established parties' council groups with respect to the content of the Greens' proposals. In general, motions introduced in established areas of local politics in which the Greens were judged to possess a degree of technical expertise, such as on environmental or transport matters, were more likely to be successful than motions belonging to "new" areas which traditionally lay beyond the scope of West German local politics. This applies particularly to military issues and to the increasing amount of debate on town twinning arrangements. It also applied to economic issues when placed in supra-local context. Planning issues were also increasingly emotive under the Greens, given the party's concerted opposition to specific local developments which it perceived to be of threat to the local environment.

As a result of this analysis it is possible to establish a model which exploits the fact that varying types of subject area can give rise to differing types of decision - those that are more consensual by their nature and those that tend towards being conflictual.

For the Mainz Greens four categories of subject area type were established to take account of the varying levels of conflict arising from their initiatives (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11

Mainz: Classification of Green motions by subject area groups according to level of conflict

Level of conflict	Subject areas
Very high	Military, Partnerships, Law and Order, Youth
High	Planning, Economics, Other
Moderate	Culture, Administration
Low	Environment, Transport, Social

Low levels of conflict arose in the environmental, transport and social categories. In the administration and culture subject areas moderate levels of conflict were recorded. In the remaining subject areas in which the Greens introduced motions either high or very high levels of conflict arose within the city council.

Table 6.25

Green motions by subject area groups, Mainz, 1984-1987

Type of decision	Level of conflict				All
	Low	Moderate	High	V. high	
Unanimous	72.1 44	54.5 6	29.4 5	0.0 0	56.1 55
Majority	14.8 9	18.2 2	11.8 2	44.4 4	17.3 17
Rejected	9.8 6	27.3 3	35.3 6	33.3 3	18.4 18
Removed	3.3 2	0.0 0	23.5 4	22.2 2	8.2 8
All	100.0 61	100.0 11	100.0 17	99.9 9	100.0 98

n=number of valid cases  
excludes "other" decisions

The level of conflict deriving from this modified classification of the Greens' motions is displayed in Table 6.25 above.

Of the motions belonging to the category which aroused least conflict some 72.1% were passed unanimously. In direct contrast to this relatively high level of agreement, the subject areas grouped under the "high" and "very high" headings gave rise to greater dissent. In the case of the 17 motions within the "high" category 12 led to conflict (70.6%), whilst all 9 motions belonging to the "very high" category aroused conflict.

In Mainz, therefore, it has been possible to illustrate a very strong link between the subject areas of Green motions and the council resolutions affecting them. However, it would be useful to apply methods similar to those adopted here to studies of other West German localities in order to assess whether the results have a more universal relevance.

#### 6.5. Summary: The changing agenda of local politics in Mainz

At the start of this chapter two principal hypotheses relating to Green local politics were outlined. On the basis of the information presented in this chapter it is now possible to draw some tentative conclusions about the changing agenda and style of local politics in Mainz, as reflected in the parliamentary initiatives of the parties represented on the city council.

Firstly, the changing levels of activity of the Mainz council groups were examined for the periods preceding and following the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council in June 1984. Although only marginally higher rates of activity were registered

for the period in which the Greens were represented, this factor masked variations in the levels of activity of the individual council groups. The Green *Fraktion* maintained a very high level of initiation for the period under review, introducing over one third of all motions. However, when account was taken of the respective strengths of the council groups it emerged that not only the Green councillors, but also the members of the smaller FDP *Fraktion*, were responsible for high rates of performance. The levels of activity of the larger council groups of SPD and CDU were correspondingly lower.

The hypothesis that the Greens have contributed towards a change in the agenda of local politics was tested for the case of Mainz on the basis of a classification of the motions of the council groups into a range of subject areas. At this early stage of the analysis difficulties could already be identified with attempts to locate topics on a New-Old Local Politics dimension.

Nevertheless, certain variations in the agenda of local politics in Mainz following the entry of the Greens to the council chamber were identified. Environmental, transport and cultural issues were discussed more frequently, whilst the previously important economics category suffered a decline in significance.

A number of changes also occurred with regard to the policy-making priorities of the individual council groups. The Greens laid most emphasis on environmental and social issues and were also responsible for the great proportion of all initiatives in these fields. Both the SPD and FDP made a priority of

environmental and transport issues, whilst the CDU emphasised the importance of cultural and transport matters and placed only a low level of significance upon the environmental category.

The second principal hypothesis to be tested was that local politics has become more conflictual as a result of the Greens' presence in West Germany's local parliaments. This was shown to be the case in Mainz. Whilst the period preceding the election of the Greens had been marked by high levels of unanimity, with almost 90% of motions being supported by all the council groups, that following the Greens' election saw only 73.3% of motions gain such backing.

It was possible to identify three main factors underlying variations in the levels of conflict witnessed over the course of the analysis. Not only were political events in Mainz, such as the election of new members of the council executive, judged to exert an influence upon the course of council meetings, but also the council group responsible for initiating motions and the subject areas of the motions affected the nature of the decision. Green motions with a military subject area introduced at a time marked by tension over other political events were more likely to lead to conflict than FDP motions with an environmental subject area initiated at other times.

However, the difficulties with regard to the identification of New Politics issues could not be bridged by means of a quantitative analysis alone. For this reason, it is now necessary to examine the content of the initiatives introduced by the Mainz council groups in more qualitative terms.

## Chapter 7

### The New Local Politics in Mainz: a qualitative analysis

In Chapters 5 and 6 changes in the style and content of Mainz' local politics between 1984 and 1987 were addressed. It was shown that both the agenda and consensual style of local politics in the city had changed to a certain degree during this period. However, in the context of the New Politics debate, a number of difficulties were raised with regard to the identification of a New-Old Politics dimension. Two major limitations characterised the quantitative analysis applied in Chapter 6. Firstly, difficulties inherent in attempts to classify motions according to a New or Old Politics subject area could not be overcome. Secondly, the precise nature of conflict witnessed in the Mainz city council was overlooked. This chapter aims to bridge some of the gaps raised by the quantitative analysis, in order to examine the impact of the New Local Politics in Mainz.

#### 7.1 Methodology

A qualitative analysis of the motions of the Mainz council groups between 1984 and 1987 was required in order to address some of the difficulties inherent in the quantitative approach. This was achieved with reference to two main sources. Firstly, the texts of the relevant motions were examined. This allowed judgments to be made about stylistic and contextual differences between the initiatives of the Mainz council groups. Secondly, recourse was made to the minutes of the council meetings in which the motions were debated. Extracted minutes of council meetings are produced after each session by the city authorities in Mainz which summarise the principal contributions made by the participants of

each council group to the debate. In addition to such condensed reports, full transcripts of the proceedings were made available on particularly important occasions. An examination of the contributions of the four council groups to the debate on individual topics would allow a better understanding of differing interpretations accorded to the role of local politics by the parties.

In Chapter 2 the main elements the New Local Politics were identified in terms of its broad interpretation of the scope of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law, the conflictual nature of its agenda and its influence upon the politicisation of all spheres of local council activity (see Chapter 2). In this respect, it was also shown that the Greens' approach to local politics differs fundamentally from that of the established West German political parties. By addressing the content of the issues under discussion in the Mainz city council in conjunction with the debate regarding them, the extent to which the New Local Politics played a role in the city will be discussed at two levels.

Firstly, the system level at which the Mainz council groups' motions were directed will be assessed (section 7.2.). The traditional, Old Local Politics view is that the agenda of local councils should only address issues of immediate relevance to the local level. The New Politics approach regards local issues in a much wider context (see Chapter 2). An examination of the orientation of the motions initiated by the Mainz council groups will provide data on this matter.



Secondly, the content and style of the initiatives with a local orientation will be addressed (section 7.3). The aim of this analysis is to judge the degree to which the Greens' local level motions differ from those of the established parties. If no significant distinctions can be drawn, it will be possible to suggest that the Greens have become integrated into established modes of local political behaviour in Mainz.

## 7.2. Supra-local issues in Mainz

In the following sub-sections attention is to be focused upon motions initiated by the Mainz council groups between 1984 and 1987 which contained either an international or a national dimension. These supra-local issues can, by their very nature, be regarded as belonging to West Germany's New Local Politics agenda.

With the strict exception of the FDP, all council groups in Mainz were responsible for introducing motions with a supra-local dimension at some time during the period under review. An analysis of the motions' texts and of the ensuing debate will provide an indication of the changing scope of West German local politics.

### 7.2.1. Global politics at local level: The discussion of town partnerships

The most obvious example of an international issue to which every locality can address its attention without fear of transcending the competences of local authority self-administration is that of town partnerships. This is a long established area of local politics in the Federal Republic, although its recent treatment

serves to illustrate the means by which the Greens have contributed towards a politicisation of West German local politics (see Chapter 3).

Traditionally, town-twinning arrangements were made by German local communities as a gesture of conciliation, as a means of re-establishing contact between the citizens of countries which had previously been at war or simply to reduce tension between citizens of different countries. In this respect, partnerships are normally made with reference to the commonalities of the respective towns. Similarities can be sought in either historical, industrial, political or geographical terms. Mainz, for example, enjoys a long-standing partnership with Watford (UK), both localities having well-established printing industries. Prior to the election of the Greens to the city council in 1984, further partnerships existed between Mainz and Dijon (France), Zagreb (Yugoslavia), Valencia (Spain) and Haifa (Israel). However, a major feature of all town twinning arrangements was their foundation upon the unanimous support of all council groups at their inception. To this extent, town partnerships were largely uncontroversial in post-war Mainz.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Greens' regard the function of town partnerships in rather different terms other political parties. For the Mainz Greens, partnerships occupied an important political function, both as a means of expressing solidarity with the citizens of the partner towns and countries and in order to draw public attention to the North-South divide. Rather than the formal links maintained by the respective towns' authorities the

Greens sought to establish direct contact with the inhabitants of the twin town, preferably with people who shared the Greens' ideology. Regular links existed, for example, between the Mainz Greens and local peace groups in Watford. This extended to the partial funding by the Greens of the visits of peace activists from Watford (72). Partnerships are also regarded by the party as a means of expressing solidarity with the citizens of countries threatened by US foreign policy, most notably with the population of Nicaragua.

In Mainz, the Greens acted in conjunction with a local initiative group to support efforts to establish a partnership with the Nicaraguan town of Diriamba (73). However, it would be wrong to assume that the Greens were alone in supporting such a link. The partnership was also approved by a number of left-wing SPD councillors and local party wards. Significantly, the majority of the SPD council group and their representatives on the council executive in particular were more lukewarm about the proposal.

The Green *Fraktion* sought financial backing for projects in Diriamba and the establishment of a full twinning arrangement in a number of motions. The text of the initial motions identified the underlying reasons for seeking such an arrangement:

(..) In einem Schreiben an die in Mainz stationierten US-Streitkräfte wird unmißverständlich daraufhingewiesen, daß die Stadt Mainz die aggressive und imperialistische Politik der US-Regierung gegenüber Nicaragua aufs Schärfste verurteilt (M147/1984).

Falling within an initial period marked by a certain rapprochement between the Greens and the SPD, both parties agreed to withdraw their own initiatives in favour of a joint

initiative. This followed a request from the local initiative group, keen to avoid any splits on this topic (74). Inevitably, the wording of the joint SPD-Green motion reflected the more moderate approach of the SPD council group:

Die Stadt Mainz erklärt sich solidarisch mit dem Volk von Nicaragua in dessen Bemühungen um Souveranität und Frieden (M23/85).

Even in its more moderate form, the debate on the issue in the council session of 26 February 1985 was highly controversial. An analysis of the course of the debate serves to illustrate the varying interpretations accorded to the role of local councils by the individual council groups in Mainz. The debate operated essentially on two levels. Whilst the FDP disputed the legality of debating matters of international relevance in the local arena, the CDU was willing to express its reservations in substantive terms.

Green councillor Günter Beck's speech opened the debate by placing the initiative into its broad international context:

Vor 5 Jahren hat (...) das Volk von Nicaragua den Diktator Somoza mit Waffengewalt aus dem Land gejagt. Er hat im besten Einvernehmen mit den USA, deren Statthalter er war, Land und Leute ausgeplündert, das Land verwüstet und die Menschen terrorisiert. Die Sandinisten leiteten eine umfangreiche Alphabetisierungskampagne ein, reformierten das Gesundheitswesen und die Agrarwirtschaft. Die Erfolge sind bis heute beachtlich. Aber seit Beginn dieser revolutionären Veränderungen überzieht die Reagan Administration Nicaragua mit Krieg (...) mittels der Contras und anderer sogenannter Oppositioneller; durch Seeverminung, bedrohliches Aufkreuzen der amerikanischen Militärmacht, verbunden mit dem Versprechen, daß eine Invasion nicht ausgeschlossen werden könne (CM 26.02.85)

Councillor Ebsen argued along similar lines for the SPD, criticising US foreign policy and drawing parallels between

events in Nicaragua and those in Chile in 1973, which saw the Allende government replaced in a US-backed coup by the military dictatorship of General Pinochet:

Solidarität mit dem Volk von Nicaragua ist ein Punkt dieses Antrages heute. Was heißt das? Solidarität mit dem Volk von Nicaragua heißt, dieses vor dem Schicksal des chilenischen Volkes zu bewahren. Was können wir dafür tun? Wir können sicherlich nicht außenpolitisch unmittelbar wirksam werden. Aber außer Mahnung und Kritik an unseren Verbündeten, die Vereinigten Staaten, die notwendig ist, können wir auch praktisch helfen ...

Heute geht es um eine konkrete Maßnahme, mit der wir sowohl unserer Solidarität praktischen Ausdruck verleihen können als auch die Entwicklung des Landes fördern können ... (CM 26.02.85).

Significantly, CDU councillor Armin Korn entered into the debate at the same international level as the SPD and Greens. No doubts were raised by him of the legality of debating such a matter at local level, indeed Third World aid was regarded by him as being a relevant part of local council activity. Dr Korn's only difficulty lay in the choice of Nicaragua as a worthy recipient of such aid:

Wir fragen uns jedoch bei diesem Antrag, warum gerade dieses Land jetzt? Warum nicht Afghanistan oder Ruanda oder ein anderes afrikanisches Land, in dem Hunger und Tod herrschen (..)? Wir vermuten (..), daß dieses Land nur deshalb gewählt wurde, weil man auf diese Weise antiamerikanische Ressentiments befriedigen will.

(..) Ich frage den verehrten Kollegen von der SPD-Fraktion: Ist es wirklich wahrhaftig und gerecht, unserem wichtigsten Verbündeten - den USA - immer und überall die finstersten Absichten zu unterstellen, obwohl wir in Deutschland seit 40 Jahren überwiegend positive Erfahrungen mit den Amerikanern gemacht haben? (CM 26.02.85).

Only FDP group leader Günter Storch expressed fundamental reservations about the discussion of international affairs in the city council. His response exemplified the FDP's restrictive interpretation of the role of local councils:

Wir erleben wieder eine große Stunde der deutschen Außenpolitik im Mainzer Stadtrat. Wieder mit einem Thema, das nicht hierhergehört, wie wir es schon oft erlebt haben, seitdem die Grünen in diesem Stadtrat mitreden. Der Antrag der SPD und der Grünen hat nach unserer Auffassung nur vordergründig ein humanitäres Ziel. In Wirklichkeit ist einzig und allein eine politische Deklaration damit beabsichtigt, eine Solidaritätskundgebung, die nicht in den Mainzer Stadtrat gehört. Es handelt sich um ein Thema der deutschen Außenpolitik und nach dem Grundgesetz ist für die Außenpolitik der Bund zuständig. (..) Wer mit der deutschen Außenpolitik, wie sie es die herrschende Regierung treibt, nicht einverstanden ist, muß dies an der dafür zuständigen Stelle, nämlich im deutschen Bundestag, tun, nicht in Stadträten und Gemeindeparlamenten (CM 26.02.85).

Despite the orientation of the original motion towards providing financial assistance to Diriamba, it was evident in this case that the debate revolved more about issues of international politics than about affairs of specific relevance to Mainz. Indeed, the contributions of the Green, SPD and CDU councillors quoted above could easily have emanated from the Federal Parliament in Bonn. In terms of the New-Old Local Politics dimension, it is possible to identify clear differences between the respective parties. The FDP are firmly tied to the Old Local Politics, whilst the remaining parties are open to the discussion of New Local Politics topics.

On all subsequent occasions on which the possible town partnership with Diriamba was discussed by the Mainz council conflict emerged. In June 1985, for example, acting upon a request from the initiative group (75), the Greens sought to grant the mayor of Diriamba permission to address the council on the latest developments in Nicaragua (M119/1985). The response of the city administration and the other council groups, including

the SPD, was to remove the motion from the agenda. The formal reason for their resolution was that they did not wish to set a precedent by allowing one foreign dignitary to address the council. It later emerged that SPD support for the motion was withdrawn in the face of CDU threats to remove its councillors from the session in which the mayor of Diriamba was to speak. This was judged to harm the prospects of a possible partnership arrangement - normally agreed with all-party support.

Not only were the Green and SPD council group responsible for initiating motions relating to Nicaragua, even the CDU group raised the subject in its own right, seeking to redress the balance somewhat in favour of the US administration. In a 1986 motion, the CDU *Fraktion* drew attention to perceived civil rights violations by the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and sought council funding for an exhibition on the country in the foyer of the city hall:

Nach Mitteilungen der regierungsunabhängigen "Ständigen Menschenrechtskommission in Nikaragua (CPDH)", die im wesentlichen auch von "amnesty international (ai)" bestätigt wird, gibt es in Nikaragua z.Zt. über 3 500 politische Gefangene, sind Folterungen beim Staatssicherheitsdienst und Terrorurteile von sogenannten "antisomozistischen Sondergerichten" gegen vermeintliche Regimegegner der Sandinisten an der Tagesordnung.

Da die Stadt Mainz der Stadt Diriamba finanzielle Hilfe leistet und darüber hinaus Bestrebungen im Gange sind, mit dieser Stadt partnerschaftliche Beziehungen zu begründen, sind derartige Vorgänge für die Mainzer Bevölkerung von großem politischen Interesse (M233/1985).

Whilst the exhibition was intended to present an "independent" view of events in Nicaragua, the CDU's strategy was clearly to delay any decision which might have led to the realisation of the proposed partnership between Mainz and Diriamba. Despite Green

and SPD opposition to the CDU proposal and the inevitable FDP reservations about whether Nicaragua should be a subject for debate at local level, the Christian Democrats were successful in having their motion referred to committee.

Ultimately, the CDU's delaying tactics with regard to the Mainz-Diriamba link succeeded. By the end of the period under analysis, despite a resolution passed in the council meeting of December 1986 by the Greens and SPD, the link had not been formally agreed. Indeed, this was one of many Green initiatives which suffered as a result of the collapse of budget negotiations with the SPD in the winter of 1985/86. Without financial backing, the success of this initiative could not be guaranteed.

With regard to partnership issues, Nicaragua was not the only foreign country to be placed upon the agenda of the Mainz council between 1984 and 1987. The CDU, for example, was responsible for initiating a motion calling for the provision of financial support by the city for a project in the Ruandan town of Kigali (M100/1985). This move can be viewed within the context of the Rhineland Palatinate's unique twinning arrangement with Ruanda. It can also be regarded in terms of being a CDU response to the support provided by the Greens and SPD for Nicaragua. This derives from the fact that the amount of financial aid requested for Kigali (DM 35 000,-) was identical to the sum agreed for a similar project in Diriamba. Nevertheless, all council groups lent their support to the CDU initiative. Again the nature of debate on the issue provides an insight into changes in Mainz' local politics.



The reasoning behind the motion was expressed by CDU councillor Korn who drew parallels between poverty and damage to the environment in Ruanda, stating:

daß Ruanda eines der ärmsten Länder der Welt sei. Das Land stehe durch die Abholzung vor einer ökologischen Katastrophe. Er vertrete die Auffassung, daß Armut und Umweltschutz eng zusammen stehen (CM 29.05.85).

The SPD response also touched upon similar global issues, with attention being drawn to the North-South divide:

Von Stadtrat Vehof wird mitgeteilt, daß Ruanda einstmals zu den deutschen Kolonien gehörte. Seit dem Putsch von 1973 werde es von einer Militärregierung pro westlich geführt. Die SPD-Fraktion sehe den heutigen Antrag der CDU aus der Perspektive des Nord-Süd-Konfliktes sowie des Gegensatzes von arm und reich (..) (CM 29.05.85).

However, bearing in mind the opinion expressed by its representatives in successive debates on Nicaragua, the most revealing response came from the FDP:

Fraktionsvorsitzende Dr Storch führt aus, daß es im Grunde genommen nicht Aufgabe einer Kommune sei, Entwicklungshilfe zu leisten. Dies sei Aufgabe von Bund und Ländern. In vorliegendem Falle sei das Land Rheinland-Pfalz eine echte Partnerschaft mit Ruanda eingegangen. Insofern erscheine es richtig und notwendig, daß die Landeshauptstadt Mainz einen entsprechenden Beitrag leiste (CM 29.05.85).

FDP objections to the principle that local councils should be discussing problems of international relevance at all, were balanced by support for initiatives which did not run counter to their party's foreign policy. On the one hand, the Mainz FDP forcefully sought to resist the trend towards the discussion of global issues. On the other, it found itself forced to express an opinion on the issues under debate in order to appear politically competent. This leads to a recognition that the dynamic affecting the issues of the New Local Politics cannot be resisted by more

traditional political forces at local level.

#### 7.2.1.1. Other international issues

Town twinning arrangements undeniably fall within the accepted scope of West German local authorities' competences. However, it proved much more difficult for the Mainz Greens to express their opposition to the internal and foreign policies of other countries for which no partnership link existed. In these instances a local relevance often had to be contrived.

One such case in which the Mainz Green *Fraktion* initiated a motion with an international dimension and a contrived local applicability regarded events in Turkey. In order to criticise Turkey's human rights record, the city authorities were requested not to send a representative to a reception held by the Turkish Consul in Mainz:

Angesichts der Verfolgungen der demokratischen Kräfte in der Türkei, der Verweigerung der Menschenrechte, der Folter in den türkischen Gefängnissen kommt eine Teilnahme an dem Empfang einer Zustimmung zu den heutigen Machtverhältnissen gleich (76).

Such a motion is indicative of the Greens' attempts to politicise all aspects of local political life. This also pertains to the actions of the city administration. The party's aim was to make it increasingly difficult for city representatives to maintain links with foreign governments with poor human and civil rights records. Although this particular motion was rejected by the council, this did not end the debate on Turkey. A confrontation between Green councillor Alf Haenlein and SPD executive member Herman-Hartmut Weyel at a demonstration in front of the consulate became the focus for further discussion:

Herr Haenlein erklärte mir: Wir stehen Ihnen Herr Weyel, hier gegenüber. Wir stehen Ihnen als unversöhnliche Gegner gegenüber. Der will zu den Bluthunden. Scheiß-Weyel, Scheiß-SPD-ler, der geht zu den Bluthunden.

Hast Du mit denen Blutsuppe gefressen? (76).

Haenlein's choice of words on this occasion was particularly extreme, indicating the depth of feeling with which the Greens tend to treat issues regarding the international arena. When one considers that Weyel was to become mayor of Mainz in 1987, such an exchange would inevitably affect his relationship with the Greens. It was left to Mayor Fuchs to re-establish the ground rules by which local politicians normally operate:

Oberbürgermeister Fuchs vertritt die Ansicht, daß dieser Vorfall vielleicht einmal Anlaß sein sollte, sich darüber zu unterhalten, wie man trotz Proteste und anderer Meinung den gegenseitigen menschlichen Respekt beachtet (CM 07.11.84).

The Greens' opposition to Apartheid in South Africa was also debated in a series of council meetings in Mainz under a number of different guises. Again an element of local relevance was contrived by the Green *Fraktion* in order to discuss the topic. In reaction to the state of emergency declared by the South African government in July 1985, for example, the Greens introduced a motion calling for "practical solidarity against Apartheid", the focal point of which was an attempt to restrict sales of the Krugerrand by the Mainz Sparkasse. This was to be achieved by influencing the city's representatives on the institution's board. Three measures were demanded by the Greens:

- Die Sparkasse Mainz wird keine Werbung mehr für die südafrikanischen Goldmünzen "Krugerrand" betreiben. Die Sparkasse Mainz stellt den Verkauf dieser Goldstücke ein.

- Die Sparkasse Mainz erstellt für potentielle Anleihe- oder Krugerrand-Kunden ein Informationsblatt, in welchem über das rassistische, menschenverachtende Regime in Pretoria sowie über die Bedeutung der ausländischen Goldverkäufe informiert wird.
- Die Angestellten/innen der Sparkasse Mainz werden durch Aufklärung und Information in die Lage versetzt, diese Maßnahmen den Sparkassenkunden sachlich zu erklären sowie entsprechende Alternativen zum Krugerrand zu offerieren (M139/1985).

The Greens' motion was unacceptable to the other council groups in the form in which it was presented, given the council's lack of controlling powers over the activities of the *Sparkasse*, which is jointly administered by the district adjacent to Mainz (Kreis Mainz-Bingen). Instead, the SPD and Greens ultimately accepted an amended form of the motion, issued as an appeal to those responsible in the Sparkasse administration to halt sales of the coins. Both the CDU and FDP objected to the motion for formal reasons. The CDU opposed the initiative on the grounds that the *Sparkasse* was a "*wirtschaftliches Unternehmen, welches in Wettbewerb stehe und dessen Aufgabe es nicht ist, Weltpolitik zu machen*" (CM 04.09.85), the FDP for purely formal reasons:

Die FDP sei zwar gegen Apartheid, müsse jedoch den Antrag in den vorgelegten Form ablehnen, da der Stadtrat hierfür nicht zuständig sei (CM 04.09.85).

This motion exemplifies the Greens' radical approach to local politics. Not only does the initiative fail to take account of the limitations placed upon local council activity by Article 28.2 of the Basic Law, it would also be difficult to implement in its given form. The Fundamentalist strategy adopted by the Mainz Greens regarded constitutional considerations as being of secondary importance. Whilst the Greens recognise the impracticality of some of their proposals, they were willing to

take this into account in their efforts to broaden the horizons of local politics. In these cases evidence suggests that the Greens are less interested in initiating practical reforms than in making political statements about events in the international arena. In this sense, it is important for the Greens to seek evidence of conflict. This stems not only from the Mainz Green *Fraktion's* inability to gain majority support for its radical proposals, but also from the party's specific relationship with the new social movements. Such measures often originate within the extra-parliamentary sphere and are transported by the Greens into the respective parliament. The outcome of the motion is often immaterial to the group which proposed it (unless financial support is requested), failure tending to confirm a widespread belief in the inadequacy of the parliamentary approach. The main benefit of the exercise arises simply from the fact that the question has been debated and the response of all council groups recorded. These responses can then be used to support further attempts to achieve the groups' aims, particularly in those cases in which the SPD council group has been shown to be acting contrary to some part of its election programme. This attitude also marked the budgetary debate between the Greens and SPD in Mainz in the winter of 1985/86 (section 5.2).

Again, it should be noted for Mainz that the Greens did not exercise a monopoly over the rejection of Apartheid in South Africa. The SPD was also responsible for introducing a motion on the theme, seeking to bring an exhibition to the city hall devoted to the topic of Apartheid. A comparison of the SPD motion

with that of the Greens outlined above confirms the differing approaches of the two council groups to the same question. The SPD introduced the motion in the most general terms possible, drawing attention to the ambivalent attitude of the CDU/FDP government towards the South African regime, but sought to use an established means of achieving their goal:

Auch wenn das System der Apartheid bei uns in offiziellen Erklärungen einhellig abgelehnt wird, bleibt die praktische Haltung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zwiespältig (...). Mit einer Ausstellung über die Praxis der Apartheid in Südafrika kann die Stadt Mainz einen Beitrag zur Aufklärung der Bürger über die Verhältnisse in diesem Lande leisten und dadurch praktische Solidarität mit der schwarzen Bevölkerungsmehrheit fördern (M191/1985).

The difference between the Greens' internationally oriented motions and those of the SPD and CDU exists primarily in the nature of the demands laid out. Whilst the larger council groups restricted themselves to practical and established means of drawing attention to relevant international issues - the holding of exhibitions in the foyer of the city hall - the Greens' demands were of a more substantive nature. This affects the possible outcome of the relevant motions. The chances of success of Green motions calling for radical solutions to problems in the international arena are likely to be significantly lower than those of CDU or SPD motions which identify practical local means by which they can reach their goal. In the case of the SPD motion outlined above, for example, there was all-party support for its acceptance, with neither the CDU nor FDP objecting to its internationalist orientation:

Von Stadtratsmitglied Janson wird mitgeteilt, daß auch die CDU Fraktion dem Antrag im Grundsatz zustimme. Die Ausstellung solle dazu beitragen, das Mitgefühl und die Solidarität der Bürger zu wecken.

(..) Auch die FDP werde vorliegendem Antrag zustimmen, teilt Stadtratsmitglied Patzke mit, da auch sie der Auffassung sei, daß den Mainzer Bürgern Gelegenheit gegeben werden sollte, sich von den Zuständen in Südafrika zu überzeugen (CM 16.10.85).

A final measure which well illustrated the New-Old Politics divide in the Mainz city council regarded a Green initiative which was introduced in the wake of America's bombing raid on two Libyan cities in April 1986. The raids were carried out in response to Colonel Ghaddafi's assumed role in international terrorist activities.

Although the Greens sought to identify a local relevance for their motion - based upon the annual German-American Friendship Weeks to be held in Mainz shortly after the attack - the overriding aim of the initiative was to make a statement about events in the international arena:

(..) Mit dieser Aggression hat die US-Regierung bewußt und gezielt Menschenleben vernichtet. Sie hat bewußt und gezielt den Weg der Konfrontation eingeschlagen, deren Ergebnis die unerträgliche Erhöhung der Kriegsgefahr weltweit ist, insbesondere aber für die Völker und Staaten Nordafrikas und Europas (M66/1986).

This initiative exemplifies the Greens' approach of thinking globally and acting locally. The speech prepared by Green councillor Hans-Jörg von Berlepsch, but which could not be made, shows the manner in which a relevance to Mainz was contrived from events in North Africa:

Sage bitte niemand, die US-Army in Mainz ist eine Friedensarmee, die uns nur schützt und die hat damit nichts zu tun, daß auf zwei friedliche, wehrlose Städte in Lybien Bomben geworfen wurden. Die US-Army in Mainz ist ein Teil jener Kriegsmaschine, die vom Pentagon zur Zeit warmlaufen gelassen wird.

(..) Kann man mit aller Sicherheit ausschließen, daß die

Mainzer US-Army indirekt oder direkt in den nächsten Kriegsschlag eingezogen wird?

(..) Ist es dieses Jahr möglich, daß Repräsentanten dieser Stadt und in dieser Eigenschaft die Spitzen der Mainzer US-Army mit den üblichen Freundschaftsfloßkeln festlich empfangen (..)? - Während in Tripoli und Bengasi die Erde über den Gräbern der Opfer des US-Luftangriffes noch frisch ist? (78)

In Mainz a motion of this nature had little chance of success between 1984 and 1987. Not only was it beyond the accepted jurisdiction of the local level, it also ran counter to the political will of the established council groups. In all instances on which the relationship between Mainz and the US forces stationed around the city was problematised by the Greens, the level of conflict within the city council was at its most extreme. The minutes of the meeting in which the Libyan motion was discussed illustrates this point. Whilst the SPD sympathised with the motives underlying the Greens' motion, they did not wish to see the German-American Friendship weeks used as a "tribunal" against their allies. Instead, they supported a formal move to prevent discussion of the initiative. With the CDU expressing similar reservations, Green councillor von Berlepsch responded by objecting to the formal approach adopted by the major parties:

Fraktionssprecher von Berlepsch erklärt, daß ihn der Geschäftsordnungsantrag und die Einstellung der beiden großen Fraktionen verwundere, ja sogar empöre, da hierdurch ein wesentlicher Punkt der Kommunalpolitik durch die "Dampfwalze" der Mehrheit unter den Tisch gekehrt werde (CM 30.04.86).

Following a brief interruption of proceedings by spectators, FDP council group leader, Günter Storch, was able to make his contribution to the debate:

Von Fraktionsvorsitzendem Dr Storch wird festgestellt, daß es sich bei diesem Antrag, wie bei vielen anderen Anträgen, die von den Grünen kamen, auch um ein Thema



handelt, das nicht in die kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeit des Rates gehöre. Es müsse immer wieder betont werden, daß der Stadtrat sich nicht mit außenpolitischen Themen beschäftigen könne. Mit Zufriedenheit habe er den gestellten Geschäftsordnungsantrag zur Kenntnis genommen (CM 30.04.86).

After the removal of the Greens' motion from the agenda and the Fraktion's subsequent withdrawal from the council chamber, Mayor Fuchs felt obliged to make a statement in support of local US forces:

Von Oberbürgermeister Fuchs wird darauf hingewiesen, daß es in Mainz selbstverständlich sei, mit den ausländischen Mitbürgern in vernünftiger Weise zusammenzuleben. Dies gelte auch für die Soldaten und Zivilisten der Stationierungsstreitkräfte (...). Mit den Amerikanern, den Verbündeten der Bundesrepublik, sollte man offen über alle berührenden Fragen sprechen (CM 30.04.86).

The debate surrounding this motion reveals the limits of what the established parties are willing to accept as being of relevance to the local level. It also indicates the Greens' dependence upon the SPD granting its support to the discussion of such matters, a feature which recurred throughout the period under analysis.

#### 7.2.2. National politics at local level: Atomwaffenfreie Zone Mainz

Having shown how the Mainz city council increasingly debated international issues following the election of the Greens in 1984, the manner in which other initiatives addressed by the council breached a strict interpretation of the scope of local politics will now be addressed. In this section, motions which were essentially a matter for federal and regional governments in West Germany will be examined.

Again, the majority of motions in this category were introduced

by the Greens. Nevertheless, other council groups were also responsible for submitting initiatives which transcended the traditional limits of local politics.

One area which accounted for a significant proportion of motions with a supra-local focus in Mainz was that relating to military matters. In this respect, an initiative introduced jointly by the SPD and Green council groups in November 1984, seeking to declare Mainz a nuclear weapon-free zone (*Atomwaffenfreie Zone*) was indicative of motions with a national dimension. The motion was important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it acted as a test case for future agreements between the Greens and the SPD. Secondly, the initiative had a certain historical tradition in Mainz. Thirdly, the subsequent course of resolution agreed by the Mainz council through the legal system proved typical of the increasing levels of conflict affecting local politics in the city.

In certain respects, there was little fundamentally new about the discussion of the question of a nuclear-free zone in Mainz. The discussion of this question had exercised the city council on a number of occasions prior to the election of the Greens in June 1984. As early as April 1958, for example, against the background of Federal Government proposals to allow the presence of atomic weapons on West German territory for the first time, the Mainz council had passed two resolutions on the subject. The first called upon the city authorities to prevent the stationing or storage of nuclear weapons within the city's boundaries and to resist demands to provide land for such purposes (M25/1958). The

second sought to carry out a plebiscite in Mainz in order to assess the local citizens' views on the issue of the stationing of atomic weapons in Germany. The following question was to provide the basis for the referendum:

Sollen auf deutschem Boden Streitkräfte mit atomaren Sprengkörpern ausgerüstet und atomare Abschussbasen eingerichtet werden? (M26/1958)

The debate in 1958 surrounding the legality of the proposed resolutions was essentially the same as that which took place when the issue was discussed again in the 1980s. For this reason it is worth recording some of the comments made by participants in the debate on 28 April 1958.

As an indication of the extent of conflict surrounding the issue, the CDU *Fraktion* had remained away from the council chamber for the session. This left the SPD, as the group responsible for initiating the motion, the FDP and members of the council executive to reach a decision. Commenting upon the nuclear rearmament of the West German army in general terms, SPD councillor Distelhut expressed the following opinion:

Das ist der Beginn einer äußerst gefährlichen Entwicklung, gegen die wir uns mit aller Entschiedenheit wehren. Wir glauben, daß das deutsche Volk ein Recht darauf hat, sich dazu zu äußern, ob es mit einer solchen Entwicklung einverstanden ist. Insbesondere hat aber die Bevölkerung der so schwer betroffenen Stadt Mainz ein Recht auf diese Meinungsäußerung (CM 28.04.58).

The executive member responsible for legal matters, however, strongly contested the legality of the second motion, arguing that it lay beyond the competences of the local parliament:

Es handelt sich bei diesem Antrag (..) ganz eindeutig um eine Zuständigkeit des Bundes. Also der Bundestag könnte hierüber letzten Endes befinden, aber nicht ein Kommunalparlament, also auch nicht der Stadtrat von Mainz (CM 28.04.58).

An FDP councillor chose to differentiate between the two motions. Speaking from a personal point of view, rather than as a representative of his council group, councillor Kohl supported the first motion, hoping that it might prevent the stationing of nuclear weapons in Mainz:

Wenn es zu einer atomaren Aufrüstung kommt (..), dann werden irgendwo in der Bundesrepublik zweifellos diese atomaren Waffen gelagert werden müssen. Wenn es möglich sein sollte, daß durch die Initiative des Stadtrates oder der Stadt Mainz erreicht werden kann, daß diese Waffen nicht in Mainz gelagert werden, dann soll mir dies sehr recht sein (CM 28.04.58).

Kohl rejected the second motion, however, on the basis that the matter had already been debated and resolved in the Federal Parliament and could not be justifiably revised by members of the local council in Mainz. This opinion was not shared by the city's SPD mayor, who accepted the legality of both motions and urged their acceptance by the councillors present:

(..) weil sie dann die Möglichkeit einräumen, daß auch der Mainzer Bürger die Verpflichtung auferlegt bekommt, sich darüber zu äußern, ob er dieser unheilvollen Entwicklung, wie sie sich abzeichnet, Einhalt gebieten will oder ob der Untergang unserer Stadt und unseres Landes tatenlos hingenommen werden soll (CM 28.04.58).

In the vote which followed, the first initiative was passed unanimously, whilst the second was subject to a majority decision with the FDP voting against.

Since this resolution was not contested by the supervisory body it was still technically in force some 25 years later in 1983, during the height of a second phase of the West German Peace Movement. This preceded the Greens' election to the city council in Mainz. On this occasion local peace groups petitioned the council to declare the city a nuclear-free zone. In doing so they

made use of a procedure included within the local constitution of the Rhineland Palatinate (*Gemeindeordnung*) which allows for the direct participation of citizens in local council affairs. According to Paragraph 17 of the constitution, once certain formal stipulations have been met by the initiating group, the council is obliged to debate the issue in its next session.

Following the collection of sufficient signatures by petition organisers, the Mainz council debated the question of whether Mainz should be declared nuclear-free. The CDU *Fraktion* opposed the petition for formal, legalistic reasons, based on their belief that local authorities are not competent to discuss matters of national security:

Die Gemeinden seien zwar in ihrem Gebiet unter eigener Verantwortung die ausschließlichen Träger der gesamten örtlichen Verwaltung, die Zuständigkeit der Gemeinden sei jedoch nicht grenzenlos. Der örtliche Wirkungskreis betreffe nur Aufgaben, die in der örtlichen Gemeinschaft wurzeln und auf die örtliche Gemeinschaft einen spezifischen Bezug hätten. (...) Die Stadt Mainz sei für die hier angesprochene generelle verteidigungspolitische Frage nicht zuständig. Hieran ändere sich auch dadurch nichts, daß künstlich ein kommunaler Bezug herzustellen versucht werde, indem man über eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Mainz (...) zu diskutieren versuche (CM 23.03.83).

Having succeeded in ensuring that the petition was discussed in the council, the peace groups' proposal was ultimately rejected when an SPD resolution was unsuccessful in the final vote, the combined strength of the CDU and FDP council groups matching that of the SPD. The text of the defeated SPD resolution was judged to be closest to that of the petitioners:

Der Mainzer Stadtrat unterstützt das Begehren der Bürgerinitiative und fordert alle politisch und gesellschaftlich Verantwortlichen in unserer Stadt auf, sich in diesem Sinne bei allen zuständigen Stellen für die Ziele des Begehrens einzusetzen (CM 23.03.83).

The SPD-Green motion of November 1984 should be viewed within this broad context. Given the existence of a red-green majority in the new council chamber, the chances of this initiative succeeding were much greater than on previous occasions. Indeed, the success of the nuclear-free zone proposals was regarded in some ways as a test for a possible long-term alliance between the Greens and SPD in Mainz.

Even before the motion was introduced it was recognised by the initiating council groups that any new resolution in favour of establishing Mainz as a nuclear-free zone would meet with the disapproval of the body which supervises the legality of decisions made in the Mainz council chamber, the *Bezirksregierung Rheinhessen-Pfalz*. In order to avert the attentions of the *Bezirksregierung* it was regarded as essential for the Greens and SPD to adopt a form of wording in their initiative which specifically applied to Mainz and which could not be interpreted as being beyond the city council's competences. For this reason both council groups withdrew their own initiatives on the subject in preference for a joint motion which would have a greater chance of success. As it stood, for example, the Greens' motion (M123/1984) would have had little chance of success, being based largely upon the wording of the 1958 resolution and that of the petition of 1983.

The new joint motion proposed a series of measures. Firstly, Mainz was to declare its support for an international programme, initiated by the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, aimed

at abolishing nuclear weapons throughout the world. Secondly, the 1958 decision was to be reactivated on the grounds that it was still relevant, with the rider that the authorities should seek its realisation *"im Rahmen ihrer rechtlichen Möglichkeiten"*. Thirdly, the peace groups' petition of March 1983 was to receive further support on the basis that their initiative *"hat gerade in Mainz mit seiner exponierten Lage durch die militärischen Anlagen in unmittelbarer Nähe der Stadt konkrete Bedeutung für alle Bürger"*. Further clauses of the motion sought to publicise the measure through signs posted at entry points to the city, to establish which measures had been taken by the city authorities in the wake of the 1958 resolution and to identify the extent to which Mainz was affected by the stationing of nuclear weapons. The motion represented a serious attempt to by-pass problems of legality by contriving a relevance specific to Mainz.

Despite these attempts at avoiding possible intervention from the supervisory body, the initiative continued to be highly controversial. Prior to the inevitable objections of the *Bezirksregierung*, both the CDU and FDP council groups outlined their disapproval of the measure in the session of 28 November 1984.

The debate on the initiative essentially followed the same course as that held on previous occasions in which the issue was discussed. The only new feature was the contribution made by the Greens, which succeeded in heightening the level of conflict already present by criticising the role of the administration on previous occasions in which the issue had been discussed. Green

councillor Alf Haenlein struck an antagonistic tone from the outset, stating:

daß die lokalen Aktivitäten der Friedensbewegungen den Wunsch manifestieren, die demokratischen Gehalte der Verfassung zu retten, indem sie sie durch mündige Bürger einer Neuprüfung unterziehen. Die vorerst symbolische Erklärung zur atomwaffenfreie Zone Mainz soll ein Signal an die politisch Verantwortlichen sein, daß die Bürger in diesem Land sich nicht mehr als nur bloße Objekte von machtsstaatlichen Prestigedenken, wirtschaftlichen Interessen und technokratischem Katastrophenmanagement behandelt wissen wollen (CM 28.11.84).

Despite the fact that the motion under debate was initiated by both the SPD and Green council groups, Haenlein still succeeded in adopting a position generally critical of the Social Democrats, most particularly of SPD Mayor Fuchs, whose casting vote could have led to the acceptance of the 1983 petition:

Das Begehren der Bürgerinitiative im Jahr 1983 sei im Stadtrat bei Stimmengleichheit gescheitert, wobei die Stimme des Oberbürgermeisters den Ausschlag gegeben habe. Heute sei die Möglichkeit gegeben, diese Schlappe wieder gut zu machen (CM 28.11.84).

Following the Green councillor's remarks, Mayor Fuchs felt obliged to respond in similarly belligerent fashion:

Zu den Ausführungen von Herrn Haenlein gibt Oberbürgermeister Fuchs bekannt, daß er keine Belehrung der Grünen über sein Verhalten brauche. Als Sozialdemokrat wisse er, aufgrund langer Jahre im Krieg und in der Gefangenschaft, was es heiße, für den Frieden zu kämpfen (CM 28.11.84).

The motion of the Green and SPD was ultimately accepted, against the opposition of the CDU and FDP council groups. However, this was only the beginning of the conflict surrounding this particular motion. In the months that followed the *Bezirksregierung* insisted that the city overturn its resolution and withdraw signs posted at city boundaries declaring Mainz a nuclear-free city. Their criticism was essentially that expressed



by the FDP and CDU council groups during the debate over the issue in the council meetings of 1958, 1983 and 1984. The principal difference was that the *Bezirksregierung* actually possessed the authority by which the resolution could be overruled. The supervisory body's first objection stemmed from the belief that the issue lay beyond the competence of the local level:

Aufgaben der militärischen Verteidigung haben weder einen spezifischen Bezug zur örtlichen Gemeinschaft, noch können sie von dieser eigenverantwortlich und selbstständig bewältigt werden. Verteidigungsaufgaben sind sachlogisch den Gesamtstaat zugeordnet.

Stadtratsmitglieder, die in ihrer Eigenschaft als Mandatsträger zu Problemen der militärischen Verteidigung allgemein Stellung nehmen und entsprechende Beschlüsse fassen, überschreiten ihr Mandat, da sie sich mit Dingen befassen, zu deren Behandlung andere vom Volk gewählte Mandatsträger, nämlich die Bundestagsabgeordneten, berufen sind (79).

A second, somewhat more tenuous criticism affected the signs declaring Mainz nuclear-free. Given that the signs were posted at strategic entry points to the city, it was claimed that their purpose intention was not so much to advertise the new policy to the citizens of Mainz, but to draw it to the attention of visitors to the city. This action contravened a series of regulations governing the location of road signs and the *Bezirksregierung* felt obliged to insist that the offending signs be removed (80). In the event, however, the majority of the signs in question were spirited away from their posts by collectors, leaving only three in the hands of the city authorities.

As a final point, the *Bezirksregierung* also insisted that the 1958 resolution, restricting the movement of atomic weapons

within the boundaries of Mainz, be declared null and void. This was despite the fact that there had been no objections to the decision in the intervening 26 years (81).

In this case, the motion was ultimately unsuccessful from a practical point of view. However, it could be argued that events surrounding its course served to concentrate public attention upon the issues involved in the deployment of new missiles in the Federal Republic and thereby assist in the formation of opinions on the matter. This was essentially the opinion of Green Fundamentalists in Mainz. More significantly, the initiative was indicative of the increasingly controversial nature of local politics in Mainz during the period under review. This conflict was not only to be found within the council chamber itself. It also affected the relationship between the council, the city authorities and its supervisory body.

The discussion over the *Atomwaffenfreie Zone Mainz*, illustrated above, was indicative of debates conducted on a number of other occasions in the city's council chamber. Significantly, the debate on national issues between 1984 and 1987 always led to conflict. This applied irrespective of the subject area and of the party responsible for introducing the initiative (82).

#### 7.2.3. Summary: supra-local issues in Mainz

Between 1984 and 1987 supra-local themes were regularly under discussion in the Mainz council. The evidence suggests that they now represent an established area of local political debate in the city. With regard to international issues, not only were the traditional town-twinning arrangements the source of debate, but

more controversial issues such as US foreign policy in Central America and North Africa and Apartheid in South Africa also appeared on the council agenda. A discussion of the treatment of national topics, exemplified by the initiative to create a nuclear-free zone in Mainz, demonstrated the extent to which the local political agenda has changed in the city. Despite the fact that questions relating to national defence had been discussed on previous occasions by the city council, it must be stressed that this tended to occur in an isolated fashion. Between 1984 and 1987, these questions consistently appeared on the agenda of the Mainz city council.

The contribution of the Greens to the prevalence of supra-local issues was of particular significance. Moreover, the nature of the Greens' supra-local motions symbolised the party's role in politicising all aspects of local council activity in Mainz. Both the Libyan motion and that relating to the Turkish Consul illustrated the degree to which all local authority tasks, including those purely representational duties, assume a political role for the Greens and thereby for the council as a whole.

The Green *Fraktion* rarely missed the opportunity to draw public attention to events beyond the boundaries of Mainz. The direct relevance of such motions to Mainz was often contrived, if existent at all. As a result, the chances of success for these particular motions were relatively limited and totally dependent upon the willingness of the SPD council group to agree to a discussion of the measures in the first place.

Nevertheless, the fact should not be overlooked that the Greens were not alone in introducing motions of a supra-local relevance. Both the SPD and CDU introduced and debated motions with either a global or a national dimension. The principal difference between the motions of the Greens and those of the CDU and SPD was that the latters' motions tended to be of a more practical nature than those of the Greens. Only the FDP sought to resist pressures to discuss supra-local events in Mainz. However, the principle that local politicians should only discuss issues of direct local relevance is for the case of Mainz clearly a feature of the past.

In terms of the New-Old Local Politics dimension, it is evident that the greatest gulf exists between the Greens and the FDP, which remained rooted in traditional patterns of behaviour. The position of the larger parties in Mainz was more ambivalent. Even so, the fact that all established parties acted in unison to either reject or remove certain Green initiatives from the agenda of council meetings shows evidence of the existence of a new cleavage at local level.

### 7.3. Motions specific to Mainz

It has been shown that the Mainz city council increasingly discussed matters which breached the traditional scope of West German local politics between 1984 and 1987. The presence of supra-local issues on the city's local political agenda provides evidence of the existence of a New Local Politics dimension in Mainz. However, by no means did all initiatives introduced by the

city's council groups transcend the established limits of local political activity. In order to place the supra-local motions into context, it is necessary to address initiatives which were specific to Mainz.

In this respect, two types of issue are to be examined. Firstly, attention is to be drawn to initiatives which belonged to the traditional, Old Politics agenda in Mainz (section 7.3.1.). Secondly, locally oriented motions which belonged to a New Local Politics agenda will be discussed (section 7.3.2.).

#### 7.3.1. The persistence of the Old Local Politics

The overwhelming majority of motions introduced by the Mainz council groups between July 1984 and June 1987 had a specifically local orientation. The issues of the Old Local Politics still accounted for the greatest proportion of the city council's time. This is an important point to make when one considers the likely impact of local political activity upon the Greens. Despite the party's intent to politicise all aspects of such activity, there is very little the Greens can do to resist the discussion of "unpolitical" matters. The volume of papers presented to councillors by the city administration prior to each council meeting acts in its own right as a major integrating factor in West German local political life.

It is not necessary to enter into great detail about the mundane nature of much local council activity. This has not changed, even under the influence of the Greens. Councils still need to discuss building regulations, planning proposals, local by-laws and budgetary matters irrespective of the political complexion of its

representatives. However, it is still useful to draw attention to some typical initiatives discussed by the Mainz council between 1984 and 1987 in order to maintain a sense of perspective.

The initiatives of the FDP were exemplary with regard to their traditional orientation, contrasting markedly with those of the Greens. As already discussed, the approaches of these two parties towards local politics is the most polarised in terms of the Old-New Local Politics dimension. Whilst the Mainz Greens' broad strategy was to introduce themes of general political relevance and thereby encourage political debate, the FDP remained rooted in more established forms of behaviour. This latter point did not apply to either of the other parties represented on the city council. The analysis of supra-local issues showed that both the CDU and SPD council groups went some way towards accommodating New Local Politics themes in their repertoires.

Among the FDP initiatives which serve to illustrate the conflicting approaches witnessed in Mainz between 1984 and 1987 were several which referred to purely administrative measures. Issues such as the number of motions introduced in individual council sessions (M103/1985), pub opening times (M20/1987), or the fouling of public footpaths by dogs (M13/1985) were characteristic of the FDP's activities. A typical example of an "unpolitical" FDP motion called for improved measures to be adopted to ensure the prompt return of books to municipal libraries:

Die ständige Anmahnung säumiger Entleiher verursacht sowohl in der Stadtbibliothek als auch in der

Öffentlichen Bücherei erheblichen Verwaltungs- und Kostenaufwand. Gleichzeitig senken große Außenstände die Attraktivität der Büchereien.

Nach einer kostenlosen 1. Mahnung sind die nachfolgenden Mahnungen zwar mit Gebühren verbunden, diese reichen jedoch offensichtlich nicht aus, um die zunehmende Zahl nachlässiger Entleiher zur ordnungsgemäßen Rückgabe zu bewegen (M50/1985).

Given the limited focus of this initiative it was unlikely to lead to any form of conflict in the council session for which it was intended. The debate on the measure was indicative of the sheer banality and lack of political content which applied to most of the activities of the Mainz city council. Following the introduction of the motion, the executive member responsible for local library services supported the proposals outlined in the initiative:

Auch die Verwaltung habe die Absicht, die erste kostenlose Mahnung abzuschaffen, wobei auch weiterhin die Möglichkeit bestehen bleiben soll, bei rechtzeitiger Vorsprache bei der Bibliotheksverwaltung eine Verlängerung der Entleihdauer um weitere 4 Wochen zu erhalten.

Die Verwaltung sehe aber auch die Notwendigkeit (..) der Einführung einer rigorosen Mahnordnung (CM 19.03.85).

The CDU response was essentially the same:

Säumige Entleiher müßten im Interesse der übrigen Benutzer durch entsprechende Mittel gezwungen werden, sich an die Bibliotheksordnung zu halten (CM 19.03.85).

Whilst the Greens felt compelled to welcome the initiative, the SPD opted not to express an opinion on the FDP's motion, presumably on the grounds that nothing new could be added to the debate. As a result, this initiative followed the course of the vast majority of other motions introduced by the (established) Mainz parties. For the period under review, three quarters of all initiatives were referred unanimously to council committee (see

Chapter 6).

Even on occasions on which the FDP's motions led to conflict, the subject area of their initiatives was highly localised. An example was provided by a motion calling for the establishment of a working group comprising representatives of the council, administration and local business *"deren Aufgabe es sein soll, Maßnahmen zur Steigerung der Attraktivität von Mainz als Einkaufsstadt zu erarbeiten"* (M80/1984). At surface level such an initiative might appear uncontroversial. A political aspect to the motion emerges when it is placed into the context of the FDP's underlying wish to gain public support for its aim of seeking improvements in local roads and the construction of new car parking facilities in the city centre. Not surprisingly, the Greens' attitude towards the FDP motion was unfavourable. Councillor Ute Schmailzl objected to attempts to develop the city centre as a site purely for business and commercial interests:

Es sei zu befürchten, daß durch den FDP-Antrag noch mehr Hektik in der Innenstadt einkehre, daß zu noch mehr Konsum verführt werde, das Stadtbild anonymer werde und noch mehr Werbung dominiere (CM 03.10.84).

Whilst the SPD essentially sympathised with this attitude, the CDU exploited the opportunity to criticise the Greens' anti-business stance:

Mit den von den Grünen vorgebrachten Argumenten brauche man sich nicht auseinanderzusetzen, denn hier dränge sich die Frage auf, von was die Betroffenen ihren Lebensunterhalt bestreiten sollen, wenn die Pläne der Grünen verwirklicht werden (CM 03.10.84).

The two motions cited above exemplify the traditional approach of the FDP to local politics in Mainz. It should be recognised,



however, that the FDP was not the only party responsible for introducing motions of a traditional orientation between 1984 and 1987. Each of the other council groups was also active in this respect. CDU motions seeking to establish a regular ceremony in the city hall in which naturalisation documents would be handed over to new citizens of Mainz (M209/1985) or demanding a new type of street lighting for a local thoroughfare (M8/1986) also fell within this category.

Significantly, despite the fact that the Greens set great store by their slogan "*global denken, vor Ort handeln*", on a significant number of occasions the party introduced motions of relevance to Mainz alone. One initiative, for example, had as its subject area the fouling of footpaths by dogs (M79/1985). Despite the fact that the problems caused by dogs are of great importance to a large proportion of the local citizens, it might still appear surprising to find the Greens addressing an issue which so clearly belongs to the Old Local Politics agenda:

Straßen, Wege, Plätze und Anlagen müssen durch die Hundbesitzer/innen frei von Hundekot gehalten werden. Zu diesem Zweck stellt die Stadt Papiertüten und Pappschaufeln, natürlich aus Recycling-Papier, zur Verfügung, die zum Verkauf in Schreibwarengeschäften, Kiosken, Lebensmittelgeschäften und Supermärkten angeboten werden (M79/1985).

In the council session of 29 May 1985 this motion was unanimously referred to the environment committee for further deliberation. This was the typical response of a local council dealing with a traditional local issue.

This discussion would tend to support the contention that whenever the Greens introduce motions of a specifically localised

nature which relate to traditional local politics issues, they will not give rise to conflict. As a result, the finding of the quantitative analysis which showed that Green initiatives were more conflictual than those of the established parties' council groups needs to be qualified. The initiatives were obviously not conflictual simply because they had originated from the Green *Fraktion*. Of greater significance was the content of the relevant initiative and the practicalities of implementing its proposals. Again, the conclusion is to be drawn that the conflict arising from the Greens' initiatives was linked to the ideological factors underlying them and to the fact that the party openly sought evidence of conflict at local level.

### 7.3.2. The discussion of New Local Politics issues

Whilst it would be misleading to underestimate the strength and persistence of established forms of local politics, it is still necessary to identify issues are relatively new to West German local politics. It is also important to examine the party political origins of such issues. In this section local issues with a New Politics dimension will be addressed.

Supra-local motions have already been assigned to the New Local Politics agenda in Mainz. However, a significant number of initiatives with a purely local orientation must also be regarded as belonging to this agenda (see Baker et al 1981; Bürklin 1984; Schmitt 1987). In general, initiatives relating to "quality of life" issues form the basis of the newly emerging agenda. Motions dealing with environmental protection, with urban planning, with improvements to the local transport system, with social minority

groups or with the implications of military activity in and around Mainz are all representative of a new dimension of local politics in Mainz.

The nature of this new agenda is best illustrated by means of example. Difficulties arising from a treatment of all environmental issues as "new" have already been addressed in Chapter 6. Whilst this complex area requires further analysis, one obvious case of a "new" theme increasingly under debate in the Mainz city council following the election of the Greens was that of women's affairs. As indicated above, such issues were not debated frequently enough to justify the creation of a specific "women's issues" category in the quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, it is still worth examining the means by which women's topics were addressed by the Mainz city council groups between 1984 and 1987.

Attention has already been drawn to the manner in which the Greens sought to politicise the role of the city authorities and their representatives in Mainz with regard to supra-local topics (e.g. Turkish Consul, German-American Friendship Week). The same strategy was adopted in motions introduced by the Green *Fraktion* with a purely local orientation.

In one initiative, for example, the Greens protested about the participation of the executive member responsible for cultural affairs at a reception for competitors in a Miss Europe pageant. The Greens proposed that the city should withdraw its financial and organisational support from such competitions in the future

on the grounds that such competitions demean the role of women in society:

Zweck solcher Veranstaltungen ist es, eine Frauenrolle festzuschreiben, die den Wert einer Frau ausschließlich an ihren körperlichen Vorzügen mißt. Frauen sollen einem von Männern geschaffenen Schönheitsideal genügen und männliches Prestigebedürfnis befriedigen. Jungen Mädchen wird damit rechtzeitig ihre Bestimmung als Gebrauchsobjekt nahegelegt. Konkurrenz gegenüber weniger angepaßten Frauen wird geschürt.

(..) Ein solcher Wettbewerb hat nichts mit Kultur zu tun, sondern stellt angesichts unverminderter Gewalttaten gegenüber Frauen und oft vergeblichen Kampfes um Gleichberechtigung einen Schlag ins Gesicht von unabhängigen Frauen dar (M129/1985).

Such Green motions seek to provoke a critical response from both the other council groups and the council executive. The motion distinguishes the Greens' attitude to local politics from that of the other council groups. On the basis of the findings of previous sections, for instance, it would be highly unlikely for the FDP to support let alone be responsible for initiating similar proposals. Consequently, the Green proposal divided the opinions of the other council groups when debated in the council session of 4 September 1985. SPD councillor Gisela Thews suggested that the city authorities should develop a greater sensitivity for the problems of women, yet failed to commit her *Fraktion* to the measure. The FDP response to the discussion of such new topics in the city council was characteristically antagonistic:

Wenn die im Antrag angeprangerten Schönheitswettbewerbe eine Aufwertung erfahren hätten, dann nur durch die Tatsache, daß hiermit der Mainzer Stadtrat beschäftigt werde ... (CM 04.09.85).

The CDU was willing discuss the Greens' initiative on its merits, however, councillor Rainer Martin Laub regarded the motion as

posing a fundamental threat to the practice of local democracy:

(..) Verbote der geforderten Art [seien] mit dem Wesen der Demokratie nicht vereinbar. Auch könne es nicht angehen, daß städtische Repräsentanten durch Festlegungen der geforderten Art am Gängelband geführt werden (CM 04.09.85).

Even Mayor Fuchs expressed reservations about the practicability of the Greens' proposed restrictions, arguing on purely formal grounds:

Die Stadt zu repräsentieren, sei Aufgabe des Oberbürgermeisters, der hiermit auch Beigeordnete beauftragen könne. Ihm sei keinen Fall bekannt, wo offizielle Vertreter der Stadt Mainz die Form nicht gewahrt hätten (CM 04.09.85).

In the ensuing vote the Green motion was rejected. However, it is unclear how the individual council groups voted. Given that 34 votes were registered against the motion and that the FDP and CDU council groups had 27 representatives between them, it can be implied that a number of SPD councillors also rejected the proposal. Other Social Democrats must have either abstained or supported the Greens' initiative. The outcome of this motion illustrates well the differences of opinion which exist within the SPD council group over the issues of the New Politics at local level. It also serves to portray the Greens' strategy of seeking to bring divisions within the SPD Fraktion to light.

A more radical proposal by the Greens, certain to raise conflict in the Council, was provided by a call to establish a night-taxi service for the sole use of women. The service was to be charged at the rate of a local bus ticket. This particular motion should be viewed in the context of similar proposals introduced by the Greens throughout the Federal Republic (e.g. Taxi 1985; see Chapter 3).

The initiative in Mainz was perceived less in terms of providing a permanent solution than as a means of drawing attention to the problem of violence against women. In the Greens' opinion a widespread fear amongst Mainz women of venturing out after dark imposes severe restrictions upon their ability to participate fully in the social, cultural and political life of the city:

Trotz des im Grundgesetz festgelegten Gleichberechtigungsgebotes können Frauen sich nachts nicht in der Öffentlichkeit frei bewegen.

Sie müssen, insbesondere wenn sie alleine unterwegs sind, damit rechnen, belästigt, angepöbelt, verfolgt oder vergewaltigt zu werden. Dies gilt auch für den Weg von und zur Bushaltestelle oder zum Parkplatz.

Viele Frauen verlassen deshalb abends nicht das Haus und sind damit vom sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Leben ausgeschlossen (M205/1985).

The Green's motion gained the backing of the SPD *Fraktion* in the session of 13 November 1985 in which it was debated, albeit with a number of qualifications governing the financing of the proposed scheme. In this sense, the Social Democrats' backing for the night-taxi motion should be regarded within the context of the then impending debate on the 1986/87 city budget. Although not one of the Greens' minimum demands, the night-taxi project was still a focus for discussion in the budget deliberations.

Both the CDU and FDP council groups rejected the measure. The CDU maintained that other sections of the population could be disadvantaged by the scheme, particularly elderly or disabled men. For the CDU the question of violence against women was purely a matter of public safety and therefore for the police. This opinion was also shared by the FDP, who rejected the proposal outright on grounds of the significant costs involved.

In the vote on motion M205/1985, the Greens' proposal was referred to council committee by a majority of Green and SPD councillors, against the opposition of the CDU and FDP groups.

Despite this initial success, by June 1987 the night-taxi service had still not been implemented. Nor was there any prospect of it being introduced by the Mainz authorities. The main difficulty lay in the absence of funding for the project and the diminishing political will of the SPD council group to cooperate with the Greens. When the two parties failed to agree on the 1986/87 city budget, the night-taxi service for women became one of several Green proposals which could no longer be realised. This serves to emphasise once again the lack of political consideration which characterised the Greens' budget negotiations of the winter of 1985/1986. Not only did the party lose all influence over the selection of executive personnel, they also lost the opportunity of implementing their more radical proposals. For the night-taxi to have stood a chance of success, it would have been necessary for the Greens not only to assist in the passing of the 1986/87 budget, but also to be able to exert influence over the subsequent 1988/89 budget. Motion M205/1985 was indicative of the extent to which the Greens were dependant upon the support of the Mainz SPD for the implementation of their demands.

#### 7.4. Summary: Continuity and change in Mainz' local politics

The aim of this chapter has been to complement the quantitative study conducted in Chapter 6 by means of a more qualitative analysis of the topics under discussion in the Mainz city council between 1984 and 1987. In particular, attention was drawn to a

number of methodological difficulties inherent in attempts to establish the existence of a New Politics agenda at local level in terms of a statistical analysis alone. The qualitative study allows additional conclusions to be drawn about the extent to which the Mainz city council's activities were characterised by a New Local Politics dimension in the period under scrutiny. These conclusions pertain to both the agenda and style of local politics in Mainz.

Firstly, the analysis supported the contention made in the previous chapter that the agenda of Mainz' local politics changed in a number of respects in the period following the election of the Greens to the city council.

Most noticeably, the council was increasingly drawn into the discussion of supra-local topics. This provides additional evidence of the development of a more liberal interpretations by the Mainz council groups of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law which restricts the competences of local authorities to address matters relevant only to the local citizens. Significantly, whilst the Greens were most active in this area, both the CDU and SPD also introduced motions with either a national or an international dimension. Only the FDP remained fundamentally opposed to the discussion of such topics in the Mainz local council.

The important point was also made in the discussion of the agenda of local politics in Mainz, that despite the emergence of issues related to the New Politics agenda, the great majority of council duties corresponded to traditional, Old Local Politics issues. Even the Greens were obliged to discuss the granting of planning



permission or changes in local by-laws. This demonstrated the extent to which the local level acts as an integrating force upon the Greens.

With regard to the changing agenda of Mainz' local politics, it is apparent that the city is in a period of transition. Whilst the Old Politics issues continue to dominate the local agenda, the topics of the New Politics are gradually becoming more common (e.g. women's affairs). This is of direct relevance to the second area addressed in this chapter.

A second element of the qualitative analysis was the discussion of the manner in which the New Local Politics issues were debated by the Mainz council. The statistical analysis of the initiatives of the Mainz council groups found that the Greens' motions were much more likely to lead to dissent than those of the established parties. In this chapter it was possible to show that the New Politics orientation of the Green Fraktion's motions represented a significant factor underlying the high levels of conflict affecting the initiatives. Thus all issues with a national or an international dimension were conflictual. Since the Greens were more active in this field, it was inevitable that the party's initiatives would be more conflictual than those of the other council groups. However, it needs to be stated that not all new issues necessarily gave rise to conflict. Initiatives aimed at the local level and belonging to certain subject areas proved less confrontational than the more global proposals.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion: The Greens and the New Local Politics

This thesis has addressed itself to one of the most noticeable gaps in research knowledge of the West German Greens. Whilst the party is relatively well studied at the national and regional levels of the country's party system, there has been a marked absence of academic studies of the role of the Greens in the Federal Republic's local politics. This omission is surprising in two respects. Firstly, the scale of Green representation at local level dictates that the majority of party activists are engaged in local political work. Secondly, there is a large potential for conflict between the Greens' unique approach to local politics and that of the established local political actors. With reference to these two areas, the thesis has aimed to examine both the impact of the Greens upon West German local politics and the effect of local political activity upon the Greens.

The study was undertaken within a broad theoretical framework which sought to link party system change at local level to changes registered at higher levels of the West German political system. It was argued that the local level does not remain immune from the factors which have led to a growing instability at the Federal and Regional levels of the political system. The main source of the declining stability of West German party systems is to be found in the on-going process of socio-economic modernisation. This process has tended to reduce the relevance of the principal cleavages which underpin the Federal Republic's party system. On the one hand, the relative strength of traditional social groups (the old middle class; blue-collar

workers) which represent the core source of support for the major political parties are in decline. On the other, new social groupings (the new middle class) are developing which are no longer bound to the established parties by social structural ties and whose members share values fundamentally distinct from those of people belonging to the traditional social groups. The discussion of the factors which underlie party system change in West Germany led into an analysis of the New Politics. It was argued that not only do the New Politics have their origins in the Federal Republic's changing social structures, but that the rise of the Greens is also to be linked to the long-term process of socio-economic modernisation.

The analysis of the factors which have brought about party system change at the national and regional levels, was shown to be of relevance to the local level in West Germany. Variations in the rates of social and economic change have resulted in the nonuniform development of local party systems in the communities of West Germany. With regard to the discussion of the impact of the New Politics at local level, it was suggested that the party systems of localities in which the rate of socio-economic change had been most pronounced would be more susceptible to the New Politics than party systems of communities in which change had occurred more gradually.

An examination of the changing nature of West German local politics prior to the emergence of the Greens pointed towards the existence of a New Politics dimension at local level. This was shown to be in stark contrast to the established local political

practices, which remained rooted in consensual and essentially "unpolitical" forms of behaviour. In this context, the hypothesis was developed that an Old-New Local Politics dimension was emerging at local level in the mid-1970s. The New Local Politics was characterised by its parliamentary styles, its conflictual orientation, its broad definition of the powers of local decision-makers and its preference for open decision-making practices. The Old Local Politics was shown to exist in consensual decision-making structures, a strict adherence to narrow interpretations of the function of local authorities and a preference for representative democratic decision-making forms.

The contrasting New Local Politics and Old Local Politics approaches presented the basis for a general analysis of the role of the Greens in West Germany's local politics. The discussion focused upon the extent to which the Greens, as a party of the New Politics, have influenced the country's local politics.

The relevance of the lowest level of the West German political system to the Greens was examined in terms of the localised origins of the first ecological lists and with regard to the ability of the Greens to maintain a highly differentiated profile in the country's local councils. In each of three major respects, the Greens were shown to conform to the New Politics party model at local level. It was shown that the Green electorate at local level comprises the same core groups which support the party at elections to higher levels of government. The Greens' ideology at local level was shown to be similar to that registered at the national and regional levels. The fact that the Greens' agenda

transgressed the traditional limits of local authority competences in West Germany was suggested to be indicative of the party's New Local Politics approach. Finally, the Greens' New Politics organisational structures were shown to be of relevance at local level. However, a study of the extent of Green representation at local level pointed to the existence of a severe structural problem for the Greens, deriving from their low membership figures. The general lack of interest of party and movement activists in local politics, means that Green and Alternative council groups are often forced to become self-reliant. This renders the grassroots democratic structures adopted by the majority of local parties irrelevant since there is no means by which party representatives can be controlled.

The discussion of the Greens' origins, electorate and representation at local level provided a framework for a further, more detailed analysis of the impact of the party's ideology at local level.

The heterogeneous nature of the Greens at local level and the fact that the party has undergone a significant amount of internal change during the course of their period in local council representation made attempts to generalise about their activities at local level difficult. This problem was aggravated by the absence of objective source materials on many aspects of Green local politics. As a result, a case study method was adopted.

By drawing upon the experiences of Green groups throughout the

Federal Republic, four main hypotheses were developed which were to be addressed in a case study:

1. Green local politics is ideologically driven and represents the extension of the New Politics agenda to the local level.
2. The Greens are responsible for the rising levels of conflict witnessed in West Germany's local councils, largely as a result of their New Local Politics approach.
3. The Greens' adoption of unconventional parliamentary styles at local level runs counter to established forms of behaviour, serving to politicise all aspects of local council activity.
4. The participation of the Greens in local politics inevitably leads to their integration into the established political system.

The case study analysis was conducted in the city of Mainz which, in terms of its social and economic structure and its traditional party system was regarded as being typical of medium-sized cities in West Germany. The characteristics of the Mainz party system lend themselves particularly well to a study of the impact of the Greens upon established forms of local political behaviour in the Federal Republic and to a testing of the hypotheses pertaining to Green local politics.

The hypothesis that local politics in West Germany would become more conflictual as a result of the Greens' ideological approach was proven in several respects for Mainz. Firstly, the style of local politics was shown to have changed. The course of the

1986/87 budget negotiations between the Greens and the SPD demonstrated that the parties were operating at different levels. Whilst the Greens' overriding interest was in the implementation of their policy proposals, the SPD laid greatest emphasis upon the placement of party representatives in key executive positions. The contrasting approaches of the Greens and the SPD could not be reconciled and led to the reinstatement of a Grand Coalition administration in Mainz. This had the effect of excluding the Greens from all future influence over the development of Mainz' local politics until 1989.

Secondly, with regard to the agenda of local politics, a qualitative analysis of the initiatives of the Mainz council groups between 1984 and 1987 showed that the council was increasingly drawn into the discussion of topics linked to the New Local Politics. Although difficulties were identified with regard to the location of specific topics on a New-Old Local Politics dimension, it was shown that not only were supra-local issues increasingly under discussion in Mainz, but a number of issues with a local orientation were also shown to be the focus for council attention. This served to provide evidence of the development of a more liberal interpretations by the Mainz council groups of Article 28.2 of the Basic Law which restricts the competences of local authorities to address matters relevant only to the local citizens. Significantly, whilst the Greens were most active in this area, both the CDU and SPD also introduced motions with either a national or an international dimension. Only the FDP remained fundamentally opposed to the discussion of such topics in the Mainz local council.

With regard to the changing agenda of Mainz' local politics, it was apparent that the city was located in a period of transition. Whilst the Old Politics issues continued to dominate the local agenda, the topics of the New Politics were shown to be of increasing relevance.

Having identified difficulties associated with defining issues as belonging to either a New or an Old Local Politics agenda, it was suggested that further detailed studies of local council activity would have to be conducted in the future. These studies would have to address a range of councils of different socio-economic types and would need to cover a greater time-span.

Evidence was also provided to support the second hypothesis - that the Greens are largely responsible for an increase in political conflict at local level. This was demonstrated throughout the case study analysis, but was perhaps most starkly evident in the analysis of the initiatives of the city's council groups.

The Greens were responsible for more conflictual initiatives than the three other council groups combined. Whilst the period preceding the election of the Greens had been marked by high levels of unanimity, with almost 90% of motions being supported by all the council groups, that following the Greens' election saw only 73.3% of motions gain such backing. When the Greens were removed from the analysis, it became clear that the level of consensus affecting the motions of the established parties'



council groups had not changed substantially from one council period to the next. The Greens most clearly represented the source of growing conflict in Mainz.

The third hypothesis contended that the parliamentary styles adopted by the Greens would run counter to traditional forms of local political behaviour. It was suggested that this could lead to a politicisation of all aspects of council activity. Evidence to back this hypothesis was found in events surrounding the appointment of new council executive members in Mainz. The controversy which surrounded personnel matters was indicative of the extent to which areas traditionally regarded as being uncontroversial became highly political following the election of the Greens to the Mainz city council. The Greens represented the most vocal source of opposition to the consensual practices which had characterised Mainz' local politics for the preceding 30 years.

Further signs of politicisation were evident in the Greens' attempts to exert influence over the the representative duties of executive members. The parliamentary styles adopted by the Green *Fraktion* were also evident in the very high level of activity maintained during the period under review. Over one third of all motions were introduced by the Greens between 1984 and 1987. This demonstrates that the Greens do not differentiate between the levels of the West German party system in terms of their desire to implement policy changes.

Finally, a number of factors served to support the fourth

hypothesis developed - that the Greens are unable to resist pressures which lead to their integration into the political system at local level. The important point was made in the discussion of the agenda of local politics in Mainz that, despite the emergence of issues related to the New Politics agenda, the great majority of council duties are of the traditional, Old Local Politics variety. In this respect, even the Greens were obliged to discuss the granting of planning permission or changes in local by-laws. This demonstrated the extent to which the local level acts as an integrating force upon the Greens, a factor backed up by the sheer volume of initiatives introduced by the party. The absence of a large source of extra-parliamentary support meant that the Mainz Green *Fraktion* was obliged to conduct most of the mundane council duties itself, leaving little time free for other forms of political activity.

The discussion of events in Mainz between 1984 and 1987 were symbolic of an emerging conflict between the New Local Politics approach of the Greens and the traditional, Old Local Politics stance of the established political parties. The fact that the contrasting approaches of the Greens and the SPD could not be reconciled in Mainz and ultimately led to the creation of an alliance of the established parties was indicative of the growing divide along a New-Old Politics dimension. Whether such a dimension can also be shown in other cities must be the subject of further studies.

The thesis suggested that the Greens have changed West Germany's local politics quite radically since the late 1970s. This has

occurred with respect to both the agenda and style of local council activities in the 1980s. Given the widespread representation of the Greens at local level, it must be contended that local party systems throughout the Federal Republic of Germany will be increasingly marked by a New-Old local politics dimension.

## 9. Notes

1. The city statistical offices of Cologne and Duisburg are prominent in attempts to establish uniform procedures in this respect. Duisburg acts as coordinating office for the *Verband Deutscher Städtestatistiker* (*Ausschuß Wahlforschung*) from which much information used in this thesis is derived.

2. Information was gathered from the following statistical offices, to whom I am most grateful: Frankfurt, Duisburg, Cologne, Bonn Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Pforzheim, Oberhausen, Darmstadt, Kiel, Neuss, Salzgitter, Wilhelmshaven, Leverkusen, Munich, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Krefeld and Wuppertal; see also Note 1.

3. In North Rhine Westphalia and Lower Saxony the chief executive is termed the *Gemeindedirektor*, *Stadtdirektor* or *Oberstadtdirektor*, depending upon the size of the community.

4. In local by-elections in Lower Saxony on 23 October 1977 the *Grüne Liste Umweltschutz* (GLU) gained 1.2% in the Hildesheim district and one council seat. A *Wählergemeinschaft Atomkraft - Nein Danke* (WGA) won 2.3% of the vote in the Hameln-Pyrmont district and a council seat (Stöss 1986:1515). Both groups developed out of citizens' initiative groups opposed to the construction of nuclear power plants in their vicinity. In Schleswig-Holstein two ecological electoral lists gained seats in local elections held on 15 March 1978. The *Grüne Liste Nordfriesland* secured two district council seats after gaining 6.0% of the vote, the *Grüne Liste Unabhängiger Wähler* three district council seats after winning 6.6% of the vote (Schleswig-Holstein 1978:113).

5. Numerous examples exist of Alternative and Rainbow lists (*bunte Listen*) being succeeded by official Green Party lists in local elections. This includes the *Kölner Alternative* (Cologne), the *Alternative Grüne Liste Bonn*, the *Alternative Liste Trier*, the *Bunte Liste Bielefeld* and the *Wiesbadener Liste* each of which competed in local elections between 1979 and 1981. In Oberhausen, however, the reverse happened in the 1984 local election, with a *Bunte Liste* replacing the Green Party which had stood in 1979.

6. In the North Rhine Westphalia local elections of 1984 Green Party lists competed with alternative groups in several communities. In Bad Honnef (Rhein-Sieg district), for example, the Green Party gained 4.8% of the vote, whilst a green voting group won 8.3% and 3 seats. Other conflicting candidatures occurred in Alsdorf (Aachen district) and in Kamen and Bergkamen (both Unna district).

7. Having declined to compete against the *Wählergemeinschaft Darmstadt* (WGD) in the 1981 local election, the Darmstadt Green Party decided to do so in 1985. Above all, the Greens appear to have objected to the authoritarian style of the WGD chairman (Frankfurter Rundschau 13.07.84). In the 1985 election the Green Party won 9.5% of the vote (7 seats), the WGD 4.5%.

8. A radical right-wing group, *die Grünalternativen*, campaigned in the 1985 local election in Hesse in the Hersfeld-Rotenburg district, gaining only 0.3% of the vote. This sufficed to deprive the Green Party, which won 4.97% of the vote, of council representation (*Grüne Hessenzeitung* 4/85:44).

9. In the district election (22 March 1981) the Green Party won 14.2% of the vote in the Groß-Gerau district (12 seats). Green lists campaigned in 6 of the 14 communities which comprise the district, gaining 11.0% of the overall vote and 44 seats (Hesse 1982).

10. It should be noted that this calculation includes Green and Alternative representation in the 3 city states of the Federal Republic (Hamburg, Berlin and Bremen), which are not otherwise regarded as units of local government.

11. The relevant levels of female representation were as follows: CDU - 12.2%; SPD - 16.6%; FDP 15.7% (*Der Städtetag* 40, No.6, 1987:369).

12. Personal communications with the regional statistical offices of Lower Saxony (21.05.88) and Rhineland Palatinate (25.03.87) show that details of the titles/names of voting groups are not collected.

13. In a personal communication from the regional statistical office of the Rhineland Palatinate an attempt was made to list a number of "possible" ecological and alternative lists, standing in the 1984 local elections. Although helpful, the list was inconsistent with data already gathered by the author.

14. In Baden-Württemberg and the Saarland electoral statistics distinguish between the district vote and the vote gained in both independent towns and local communities. This should be taken into account when consulting Table 3.3.

15. Terminology varies across the Federal Republic. *Ortsbeiräte* exist in Hesse, Schleswig-Holstein and the Rhineland Palatinate; *Ortschaftsräte* in Baden-Württemberg; *Ortsräte* in Lower Saxony and the Saarland; *Bezirksausschüsse* in Bavaria; *Bezirksvertretungen* in North Rhine Westphalia (Bockelt 1989:208f).

16. In North Rhine Westphalia 218 Green and Alternative candidates were elected to the regions *Bezirksvertretungen* in the 1984 local elections (North Rhine Westphalia 1984:124f). In Wiesbaden and Frankfurt alone 47 Green neighbourhood councillors were elected in 1985 (Scharf 1989:173).

17. In Lower Saxony community associations are termed *Samtgemeinden*, in the Rhineland Palatinate *Verbandsgemeinden*.

18. Official Green Party representation on the councils of the community associations was 35 in the Rhineland Palatinate in 1984 and 70 in Lower Saxony in 1986.

19. The Green Party gained 11 seats on the *Umlandverband Frankfurt* in 1985. 2 seats were held by the Greens in the *Bezirkstag Pfalz* as a result of the 1984 local election. In North Rhine Westphalia the Greens had 22 seats in the two *Landschaftsversammlungen Rheinland* and *Westfalen-Lippe*.

20. Schleswig-Holstein community election results give the share of seats won by Greens, not the share of the vote (see Beyermann 1986:166). For the Saarland and Baden-Württemberg, city/district election results represent districts only. Elections in *kreisfreie Städte* are included in community election results.

Sources: Compiled by author from: Baden-Württemberg (1985); Bavaria (1985); Hesse (1986); Communication with *Grüne und Alternative in den Kommunalvertretungen Hessen e.V.* (24.02.87); Thyerlei (1986); North Rhine Westphalia (1984); Traunsberger and Klemisch (1987); Rhineland Palatinate (1985); *Grüne Rheinland/Pfälzer* (8/84:7f); Communication with regional statistical office, Rhineland Palatinate (24.03.87); Saarland (1984); Schleswig-Holstein (1986).

21. In 53.1% of local communities in the Rhineland Palatinate a majority vote was held in 1984, because no party put up a candidate list. In the 1,081 communities in which a proportional vote took place the Green Party campaigned in just 61. This compares with a figure of 808 for the CDU, 835 for the SPD and 221 for the FDP.

22. City statistical offices are able to publish "representative" electoral statistics, calculated on the basis of the ballots of a sample of the voters from representative electoral wards. This provides information about the age and sex structure of the electorate and about the structure of the political parties' voters in relatively small administrative areas (see Noeske 1985).

23. Neuss represents an exception in this case. In the 1984 local election, the Green Party performed least well in wards with a high concentration of young voters (Neuss 1984:25).

24. In both the Soest district and the town of Pulheim Greens refused to accept increased expense rates (Soest 1987; Pulheim 1986 and 1987). In other communities, however, such increases were used for publicity means by Green council groups (e.g. Lippstadt 1986).

25. It is now relatively rare for the Greens to avoid active participation in council executives if the opportunity arises. In Hesse, as a result of the 1985 local election, the Greens took control of 8 *Dezernate* (administrative divisions) in communities with red-green alliances.

26. Jutta Ditzfurth, a prominent fundamentalist, was Chairperson of the Federal Green Party for a number of years. Joschka Fischer became Hessian environment minister in the first ever red-green coalition at regional level in the Federal Republic (1985-1987).

27. The Greens' share of the vote in local council elections in Frankfurt in 1985 increased at a rate well below the hessian average. In elections to neighbourhood councils, which took part concurrently within the same area, the Greens secured an additional 2% of the vote (Frankfurt 1986:50).

28. One such alliance was established in 1985 in the Hessian community of Mainhausen, location of a disputed waste disposal site (Behr et al 1986:48). Further alliances were initiated in communities in North Rhine Westphalia in the wake of the 1984 local election (Herbers 1987).

29. An example of the contribution of local activists to the national strategy debate comes in a letter from the *Grüne und Alternative in den Räten Bayerns* of 9 October 1987 to the competing Federal Executive Committee and parliamentary groups on the occasion of a crisis meeting in Bonn (12.12.87): *uns reicht allmählich, aus Tageszeitung und Fernsehen immer nur Eure neuesten Streitereien mitzukriegen. Unsere Wut hat einen guten Grund: wir sehen unsere ersten, mühsam erzielten Erfolge an der vielzitierten Basis - in den Gemeinden - gefährdet* (Pantheon 1987: no page number).

30. In Wiesbaden, for example, the council meeting minutes were not available for the 1985-1987 period when fieldwork began in October 1987. The council administration in this city could only make details of council resolutions available. As a result, it was impossible to ascertain how individual council groups in the city had voted on particular issues.

31. The author held a German Academic Exchange Service Scholarship between October 1987 and July 1988. During this period much of the research work was completed.

32. The following sources were made available: Minutes of the meetings of the Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, internal discussion documents of the Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, the Green council group's archive, personal correspondence with other party groups, the accounts books of the *Fraktionsgruppe* and publications of the Mainz Greens.

33. Interviews were conducted both formally and informally with council representatives of the Greens, CDU and SPD. Further discussions with local political activists provided useful background information.

34. The author attended the regular meetings of the Green *Fraktionsgruppe* and participated in a number of additional party activities during the course of fieldwork. It was also possible to present some preliminary research findings to members of the Mainz council group. The ensuing debate proved useful in clarifying various aspects of the research.

35. A meeting of the SPD district party (*Unterbezirk*) in October 1984 resolved that the priorities for the city's council group in

the new legislative period would be to secure the succession of an SPD mayor upon the retirement of Mayor Fuchs, to guarantee the maintenance of an SPD majority in the council executive, to stick to agreements made with parties before the 1984 local election and to seek to implement a maximum number of SPD policies without entering into talks with any other party over a common programme.

36. The unwillingness of the SPD to stick to the agreement with the Greens was outlined in an undated report by Green councillor Günter Beck: "... wir mußten uns in den letzten 2 Jahren mehrmals mit der SPD rumschlagen und immer wieder auf die Einhaltung pochen".

37. Letter to Green *Fraktion* from SPD council group leader Pick, dated 5 September 1984.

38. Extracted from discussion paper entitled "*Mainzer Modell, Umweltdezernat, SPD-Gespräch und Nachtragshaushalt*", prepared by Councillor Alf Haenlein for Mainz Green Party meeting on 22 September 1984.

39. Extracted from follow-up paper to that cited in note 4, prepared by Councillor Alf Haenlein for Mainz Green Party meeting on 4 October 1984.

40. Resolution agreed at meeting of Mainz Green Party on 4 October 1984.

41. This and subsequent quotes are derived from the verbatim report of the meeting of Mainz city council on 26 February 1985, prepared by the council administration. Subsequent extracts from the council proceedings are referred to in the following terms: CM (Council Meeting) and the date (26.02.85).

42. Extracted from a joint statement on the executive election and the situation of the Mainz SPD, March 1985.

43. The minutes of a meeting of the Green *Fraktionsgruppe* on 29 July 1985, for example, identify conflicting views about the concept of a list of minimum demands.

44. A range of discussion documents and the minutes of the relevant meetings of the Green *Fraktionsgruppe* outline great differences over what was to be regarded as a minimum demand.

45. Resolution agreed by Mainz Green Party on 2 May 1985.

46. In a meeting of the Mainz *Fraktionsgruppe* on 26 August 1985, for example, severe differences of opinion were evident with regard to the manner in which the Greens' budgetary demands would be published.

47. Letter from Green *Fraktion* to SPD council group, dated 19 September 1985.



48. Letter from Green *Fraktion* to SPD council group, dated 6 November 1985.

49. Minutes of meeting of Green *Fraktionsgruppe*, held on 14 October 1985

50. In a letter from Gerold Brand to Green Party colleagues, dated 5 September 1985, for example, the view was stated that the SPD and CDU had reached agreement over a common course: "*Sollte dies zutreffen, so müssen wir für uns feststellen, daß wir zumindest in den nächsten beiden Jahren auf parlamentarischem Wege wenig verändern können*".

51. Resolution passed by Green *Fraktionsgruppe* on 2 December 1985.

52. Letter from SPD council group leader Pick to Green *Fraktion*, dated 5 December 1985.

53. Some Green councillors argued unsuccessfully for an abstention in a meeting of the *Fraktionsgruppe* on 9 December 1985. With 27 SPD councillors facing 24 CDU and 3 FDP councillors, the mayor's casting vote would have been crucial.

54. Resolution passed by Mainz Green Party on 6 December 1985. In a letter to the SPD *Fraktion* on the same day, the Greens emphasised that they would vote against a budget which did not meet their demands.

55. Letter from SPD council group leader Pick to Green *Fraktion*, dated 18 December 1985.

56. The minutes of a meeting of Green *Fraktionsgruppe* on 16 December 1985 illustrate a growing divide within the group.

57. Letter from SPD council group leader Pick to Green *Fraktion*, dated 14 January 1986.

58. Interview with SPD Councillor Gabriela Wenke in *AMiGa, Rundbrief der SPD Ortsvereine Mainz Altstadt, Mitte, Gartenfeld*, No. 1, 1988.

59. Letter from Green councillor Hans-Jörg von Berlepsch to SPD group leader Pick dated 9 July 1986.

60. Resolution of Mainz Greens, expressed in letter from Green *Fraktion* to SPD group leader Pick, dated 6 October 1986.

61. Letter from CDU group leader Heinz-Georg Diehl to SPD *Fraktion*, dated 1 October 1986.

62. See note 30.

63. Letter from chairman of SPD *Unterbezirk* Mainz, Anton Diehl, to party members, dated 22 October 1986.

64. SPD Councillor Claus Scharf resigned his positions on a number of council committees as a result of the concessions to the CDU in letter to Mayor Fuchs, dated 15 October 1985.

65. Extracted from a Green Fraktion press statement, entitled "*Weyel nun SPD- oder CDU-Oberbürgermeister?*" and dated 15 October 1986.

66. The Greens were instrumental in creating a Mainz branch of the civil rights organisation "*Bürger beobachten Polizei*".

67. Since 1979 all initiatives submitted by the Mainz council groups have been stored in a data base. My thanks are due to the Mainz city authorities and to Barbara Schneider, business manager of the Green Fraktion, for making the data available.

68. In this and subsequent chapters, motions are referred to in terms of the number assigned to them by the Mainz city authorities. Thus M94/1985 represents the 94th motion submitted in 1985.

69. Sessions held on 29 August 1984, 19 March 1985, 29 July 1985, 15 October 1986 and 25 March 1987.

70. Sessions held on 7 November 1984, 21 May 1986, 10 December 1986, 20 May 1987 and 24 June 1987.

71. It could not always be inferred from the council minutes how individual parties had voted on Green initiatives. Some motions were agreed in part only, with other clauses being rejected.

72. A subsidy of DM 900,- was set aside for the visit in July 1985.

73. The relevant initiative group is the Verein zur Förderung der Städtepartnerschaft Mainz/Diriamba (STP-Verein).

74. Letter of 7 December 1984 from Charles Franck, chairman of STP-Verein to SPD and Green council groups.

75. Letter of 7 June 1985 from Charles Franck, chairman of STP-Verein to SPD and Green council groups.

76. Emergency motion submitted by Greens to *Hauptausschuß* meeting of 23 October 1984

77. This controversy was discussed at the council session of 7 November 1984.

78. Manuscript of speech prepared for council session of 30 April 1986.

79. Letter from *Bezirksregierung* to Mayor Fuchs, dated 24 June 1985.

80. See note 79.

81. See note 79.

82. From condensed version of text.

## 10. References

### 10.1. Books and Articles

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